

World War II

United States History ACP
Social Studies Department
Wellesley High School
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World War II

Essential Question:

- **What was the role of WWII in transforming the United States politically, diplomatically, economically, and socially?**

Focus Questions:

- **What was U.S. foreign policy from 1920-1941? To what extent was U.S. foreign policy characterized by isolationism/interventionism?**
- **What factors drew the United States into war?**
- **What were the basic strategies the Allies employed in the European and Pacific theaters of WWII?**
- **What sacrifices and contributions did Americans (as individuals, as groups, and as a whole) make in support of the war effort?**
- **To what extent did WWII advance the case of “justice for all” in America?**
- **What factors went into the decision to drop the atomic bombs? Was this a justifiable act?**

The Road to WWII


World Events		US Actions	
1922	Mussolini grabs Italy	1935	1 st Neutrality Act (no arms to belligerents)
1931	Japan invades Manchuria		
1933	Hitler grabs Germany		
1936-1939	Spanish Civil War	1936	2 nd Neutrality Act (extends '35 and adds loans/credit)
1937	Japan invades China proper	1937	3 rd Neutrality Act (no arm merchantmen, no arms sales, neutral travel, belligerents includes civil wars per presidents' discretion)
March 1936	Germany occupies Rhineland	October 1937	Quarantine Speech
March 1938	Anschluss between Germany and Austria		
September 1938	Munich Conference (a.k.a. Betrayal at Munich)		
March 1939	Hitler takes the rest of Czechoslovakia		
September 1939	Germany and Soviets invade Poland	November 1939	4 th Neutrality Act ("Neutrality" = Cash and Carry)
April 1940	Germany attacks Scandinavia		
May 1940	German attacks the Low Countries		
June 1940	France falls to Germany (England stands alone)		
Summer 1940	Battle of Britain begins (peaks in fall)	September 1940	Destroyers for Bases deal & Selective Service Act
		October 1940	FDR promises Boston crowd that "I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again: Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."
		November 1940	FDR wins 3 rd term
		January 1941	Four Freedoms (of speech & worship, from fear or want)
Spring 1941	Germans push British out of N. Africa to the Egyptian border	March 1941	Lend Lease
June 1941	Germany invades Russia	July 1941 August 1941	US convoys ships as far as Iceland Atlantic Charter (see reverse)
September 1941	USS Greer sunk by German UBoat		
October 1941	USS Reuben James sunk by German UBoat	September 1941	Shoot on Sight policy
December 7, 1941	Japan attacks Pearl Harbor	December 1941	US declares war on Japan, Germany Declares war on US

America in the 20th Century: World War II The Road to War

1. What were the lasting effects of the Treaty of Versailles?
2. Provide examples of the rise of communism, fascism, nationalism, socialism, and militarism.
3. What were the weaknesses/failures of the League of Nations during the rise of dictators in Europe?
4. What was the United States' role in the years leading up to World War II?

The United States Responds Cautiously


Most Americans were alarmed by the international conflicts of the mid-1930s but believed that the United States should not get involved. In 1928, the United States had signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The treaty was signed by 62 countries and declared that war would not be used "as an instrument of national policy." Yet it did not include a plan to deal with countries that broke their pledge. The Pact was, therefore, only a small step toward peace.

AMERICANS CLING TO ISOLATIONISM In the early 1930s, a flood of books argued that the United States had been dragged into World War I by greedy bankers and arms dealers. Public outrage led to the creation of a congressional committee, chaired by North Dakota Senator Gerald Nye, that held hearings on these charges. The Nye committee fueled the controversy by documenting the large profits that banks and manufacturers made during the war. As the furor grew over these "merchants of death," Americans became more determined than ever to avoid war. Antiwar feeling was so strong that the Girl Scouts of America changed the color of its uniforms from khaki to green to appear less militaristic. 

Americans' growing isolationism eventually had an impact on President Roosevelt's foreign policy. When he had first taken office in 1933, Roosevelt felt comfortable reaching out to the world in several ways. He officially recognized the Soviet Union in 1933 and agreed to exchange ambassadors with Moscow. He continued the policy of nonintervention in Latin America—begun by Presidents Coolidge and Hoover—with his Good Neighbor Policy and withdrew armed forces stationed there. In 1934, Roosevelt pushed the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act through Congress. This act lowered trade barriers by giving the president the power to make trade agreements with other nations and was aimed at reducing

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

 What factors contributed to Americans' growing isolationism?

Analyzing Political Cartoons

"IT AIN'T WHAT IT USED TO BE"

During the late 1930s, Americans were divided about becoming involved in "Europe's quarrels." Some people felt that the United States should be more involved in the economic and political problems occurring across the Atlantic. Isolationists—people who believed the United States should stay completely out of other nations' affairs except in the defense of the United States—strictly opposed intervening. The idea that America and Europe were two separate worlds divided by an ocean that could guarantee safety was quickly eroding.

SKILLBUILDER

Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. What does Uncle Sam's turning his back on Europe show about American attitudes in the late 1930s?
2. What U.S. policy does the cartoon imply?
3. Why might the Atlantic Ocean have appeared to shrink in the late 1930s?

 SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R24.



tariffs by as much as 50 percent. In an effort to keep the United States out of future wars, beginning in 1935, Congress passed a series of **Neutrality Acts**. The first two acts outlawed arms sales or loans to nations at war. The third act was passed in response to the fighting in Spain. This act extended the ban on arms sales and loans to nations engaged in civil wars.

NEUTRALITY BREAKS DOWN Despite congressional efforts to legislate neutrality, Roosevelt found it impossible to remain neutral. When Japan launched a new attack on China in July 1937, Roosevelt found a way around the Neutrality Acts. Because Japan had not formally declared war against China, the president claimed there was no need to enforce the Neutrality Acts. The United States continued sending arms and supplies to China. A few months later, Roosevelt spoke out strongly against isolationism in a speech delivered in Chicago. He called on peace-loving nations to "quarantine," or isolate, aggressor nations in order to stop the spread of war.

A PERSONAL VOICE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

"The peace, the freedom, and the security of 90 percent of the population of the world is being jeopardized by the remaining 10 percent who are threatening a breakdown of all international order and law. Surely the 90 percent who want to live in peace under law and in accordance with moral standards that have received almost universal acceptance through the centuries, can and must find some way . . . to preserve peace."

—"Quarantine Speech," October 5, 1937

At last Roosevelt seemed ready to take a stand against aggression—that is, until isolationist newspapers exploded in protest, accusing the president of leading the nation into war. Roosevelt backed off in the face of criticism, but his speech did begin to shift the debate. For the moment the conflicts remained "over there."

SECTION 1

ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

• Joseph Stalin
• totalitarian

• Benito Mussolini
• fascism

• Adolf Hitler
• Nazism

• Francisco Franco
• Neutrality Acts

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Using a web diagram like the one below, fill it in with the main ambition of each dictator.



CRITICAL THINKING

3. ANALYZING CAUSES

How did the Treaty of Versailles sow the seeds of instability in Europe?

Think About:

- effects of the treaty on Germany and the Soviet Union
- effects of the treaty on national pride
- the economic legacy of the war

4. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

Why do you think Hitler found widespread support among the German people? Support your answer with details from the text.

5. FORMING GENERALIZATIONS

Would powerful nations or weak nations be more likely to follow an isolationist policy? Explain.

What ambitions did the dictators have in common?

Name:
Date:

US32

Isolationist

v.

Interventionist

POINT

"The United States should not become involved in European wars."

Still recovering from World War I and struggling with the Great Depression, many Americans believed their country should remain strictly neutral in the war in Europe.

Representative James F. O'Connor voiced the country's reservations when he asked, "Dare we set America up and commit her as the financial and military blood bank of the rest of the world?" O'Connor maintained that the United States could not "right every wrong" or "police [the] world."

The aviator Charles Lindbergh stated his hope that "the future of America . . . not be tied to these eternal wars in Europe." Lindbergh asserted that "Americans [should] fight anybody and everybody who attempts to interfere with our hemisphere." However, he went on to say, "Our safety does not lie in fighting European wars. It lies in our own internal strength, in the character of the American people and American institutions." Like many isolationists, Lindbergh believed that democracy would not be saved "by the forceful imposition of our ideals abroad, but by example of their successful operation at home."

COUNTERPOINT

"The United States must protect democracies throughout the world."

As the conflict in Europe deepened, interventionists embraced President Franklin D. Roosevelt's declaration that "when peace has been broken anywhere, peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." Roosevelt emphasized the global character of 20th-century commerce and communication by noting, "Every word that comes through the air, every ship that sails the sea, every battle that is fought does affect the American future."

Roosevelt and other political leaders also appealed to the nation's conscience. Secretary of State Cordell Hull noted that the world was "face to face . . . with an organized, ruthless, and implacable movement of steadily expanding conquest." In the same vein, Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles called Hitler "a sinister and pitiless conqueror [who] has reduced more than half of Europe to abject serfdom."

After the war expanded into the Atlantic, Roosevelt declared, "It is time for all Americans . . . to stop being

deluded by the romantic notion that the Americas can go on living happily and peacefully in a Nazi-dominated world." He added, "Let us not ask ourselves whether the Americas should begin to defend themselves after the first attack . . . or the twentieth attack. The time for active defense is now."

THINKING CRITICALLY

1. **CONNECT TO TODAY** **Making Inferences** After World War I, many Americans became isolationists. Do you recommend that the United States practice isolationism today? Why or why not?
2. **CONNECT TO HISTORY** **Researching and Reporting** Do research to find out more about Charles Lindbergh's antiwar activities. Present your findings in an editorial.



SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R34.

Name:
Date:

US 32

America Moves Toward War Timeline

While reading chapter 24.4, complete the following timeline. Define each term on the timeline.

- **September 1939 – Cash & Carry** – *what is it and why did we do it?*
- **Summer 1940 – “All aid Short of War”** – *what did we do and why?*
- **September 1940 – Tripartite Pact** – *what is it and what's its aim to the US?*
- **1940 – Selective Service Act**
- **March 1941 – Lend-Lease Act** – *what was it and why did the U.S. take this position?*
- **Summer 1941 – Atlantic Charter** – *who was involved, what did it entail*
- **December 1941 – Pearl Harbor Attack** – *what happened, why, & how did US respond?*

Did the Roosevelt administration deliberately allow the attack on Pearl Harbor in order to draw America into WWII?

Directions: Below are various facts & opinions regarding the December 7th attack on Pearl Harbor (all excerpted from Kenneth Davis' Don't Know Much About History). Once you have read the pieces of information, discuss the above question with your group. It is your task to write up your groups answer to the question and to cite which pieces of evidence influenced your answer.

Evidence 1:

7 am December 7, 1941: Two U.S. army privates saw more than 50 planes on their radar screens that seemed to be appearing out of the northeast. When they called in the information they were told it was probably just part of an expected delivery of new B-17s coming from the mainland United States.

Evidence 2:

"F.D.R. was preoccupied with the war in Europe and didn't want war with Japan. . . War with Japan would sap American resources that should be directed toward the defeat of Germany."

Evidence 3:

[There is a] "large body of evidence of the Americans diplomatic attempts to forestall war with Japan."

Evidence 4:

Japanese-American relations were bad in the 1930s and worsened when the Japanese sank an American warship, the *Panay*, on the Yangtze River in late 1937 – a clear violation of all treaties and an outright act of war.

Evidence 5:

Attempting to influence the outcome of China's struggle against Japan, Roosevelt loaned money to the Nationalists in China and began to ban exports to Japan of certain goods that eventually included gasoline, scrap iron & oil.

Evidence 6:

By late 1941 it was apparent that war was coming with Japan. American and foreign diplomats in Japan dispatched frequent warnings about the Japanese mood. Nearly a year before the Pearl Harbor attack, Joseph Grew, the U.S. ambassador in Tokyo wired a specific warning about rumors of an attack on Pearl Harbor.

Evidence 7:

The Japanese diplomatic code had been broken by American intelligence by late 1941 and almost all messages between Tokyo and its embassy in Washington D.C. were being intercepted and understood by Washington.

Evidence 8:

There is no longer any doubt that some Americans knew that "zero hour" as the Japanese ambassador to Washington called the planned attack, was scheduled for December 7th.

According to John Toland's account of Pearl Harbor, *Infamy*, Americans had not only broken Japanese code that an attack was planned on Pearl Harbor on December 7th, but the Dutch had done so as well and their warnings had been passed on to Washington. A British double agent code-named Tricycle also sent explicit warnings to D.C.

Evidence 9:

Most American military planners expected a Japanese attack to come in the Philippines, America's major base in the Pacific; the American naval fortifications at Pearl Harbor were believed to be too strong to attack, as well as too far away for the Japanese.

Evidence 10:

The commanders at Pearl Harbor were more prepared for an attack by saboteurs - which explains why the battleships were packed together in the harbor, surrounded defensively by smaller vessels, and why planes were parked in neat rows in the middle of the airstrip at Hickam Field.

Evidence 11:

Many Americans, including Roosevelt, dismissed the Japanese as combat pilots because they were all presumed to be "nearsighted."

Evidence 12:

There was a sense that any attack on Pearl Harbor could be easily repulsed. Supremely overconfident, the Navy commanders on Pearl Harbor had been warned about the possibility of an attack, but little was done to secure the island. The general impression, even back in D.C. Navy secretary's office, was that the Japanese would be easily defeated, and America would still get the war it wanted in Europe.

Evidence 13:

Historian Christopher Andrew in *For the President's Eyes Only* argues that "The 'complete surprise' of both Roosevelt and Churchill reflected a failure of imagination as well as intelligence."

Evidence 14:

Historian Joseph Persico claims: "If [FDR's secretaries of State, War, and Navy knew about the attack] then they all lied and conspired in the deaths of 2400 Americans and the near-fatal destruction of the Pacific Fleet.... For FDR to fail to alert the defenders of an attack they he knew was coming, we must premise that the president had enlisted men of the stature of Stimson, Hull, Knox, and Marshall in a treasonous conspiracy."

Evidence 15:

British military historian John Keegan contends: "Roosevelt's foreknowledge can be demonstrated to have been narrowly circumscribed. Although the American cryptanalysts had broken both the Japanese diplomatic cipher Purple and the naval cipher... such instructions did not include details of war plans."

Now, discuss the evidence and determine your answer to the above question!!!

Mobilizing America for WWII

In preparation for class you will be assigned one of the following topics:

Mobilizing Troops: How did the United States mobilize (draft, attract, train, deploy) the military (both men & women) during WWII?

Read: 768-770 in your textbook. Start @ Americans Join the War Effort/Stop @ A Production Miracle

Mobilizing Industry & the Economy: How did industry change and develop during the war to aid the war effort?

Read: 770-772 in your textbook. Start @ A Production Miracle/Stop @ Mobilization of Scientists.

Mobilization of Science, Technology, and Weapons: What new weapons were created and what technological, as well as scientific advances were made as a result of the war effort?

Read: Handout- The Enlistment of Science

Mobilization of Women: How were women mobilized for the war effort?

Read: Handout-Women

Mobilization of the federal government and the economy: What role did the federal government take in regulating the economy to support the war effort (agencies and programs)?

Read: 773-774 in your textbook. Start @ Federal Government Takes Control.

Homework:

1. Read your assigned portion.
2. Answer the question(s) that relates to your topic (answers should be at least 4 sentences in length). Add in any additional information you feel is important to understanding your topic.
3. Create a sign (regular sized sheet of paper) that has the name of your topic (in bold print) with 1 sentence stating why your topic is significant. (This is in addition to the answer to your question)
4. Provide a visual representation/image of your topic. You can draw this or use a photo. Be prepared to explain your image.

MOBILIZING AMERICA FOR WORLD WAR II

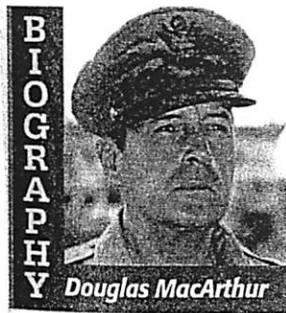
Topic	Basic Information (the how, why & what happened)	How did _____ promote or hinder democracy?
Mobilizing Troops		
Mobilizing Industry & the Economy		

Topic	Basic Information (the how, why & what happened)	How did _____ promote or hinder democracy?
Mobilization of Science, Technology & Weapons		
Mobilization of Women		
Mobilization of the Federal Government and the Economy		

War in the Pacific

Japan's assault on Pearl Harbor was just one part of a giant offensive throughout the Pacific region. On December 8, 1941, Japanese planes bombed Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines. Over the following two weeks the Japanese attacked Burma, Borneo, the Netherlands East Indies, Wake Island, and Hong Kong.

On February 27, 1942, in what became known as the Battle of the Java Sea, the Japanese navy crushed a fleet of Australian, British, Dutch, and U.S. warships that had been trying to block a Japanese invasion of Java. The Japanese invaded Java the next day and soon after began their conquest of New Guinea.



Defending the Philippines were more than 30,000 U.S. and 110,000 Filipino troops under the overall command of General **Douglas MacArthur**. Born in 1880, he was the son of Arthur MacArthur, a distinguished general. Douglas MacArthur graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1903. MacArthur then served in the Philippines and was later wounded twice in World War I. From 1919 to 1922 he was superintendent of West Point. In 1937 he retired from the U.S. Army and served as a military

adviser in the Philippines for several years. President Roosevelt recalled MacArthur to active duty in the summer of 1941. He eventually was given command of all U.S. Army units in the Pacific.

When Japanese bombers attacked Clark Air Force Base, they found the U.S. aircraft sitting on the runway. One Japanese pilot recalled, "They squatted there like sitting ducks." The planes that were needed to provide air support for the U.S. fleet in the Philippines were destroyed. Therefore, the fleet had to withdraw out of range of the Japanese planes based in Taiwan. With no air or naval opposition, Japanese forces advanced toward Manila. MacArthur recognized that his outnumbered forces would be unable to stop the Japanese advance. He ordered his troops to evacuate the city and retreat to the Bataan Peninsula.

The rapid pace of the evacuation prevented U.S. forces from stockpiling enough supplies, particularly food. The fighting soon settled into a war of attrition. The Japanese kept the pressure on the starving defenders, who were outnumbered, outgunned, and inexperienced. President Roosevelt ordered MacArthur to Australia. MacArthur vowed about the Philippines, "I shall return."

After fighting against overwhelming odds, the survivors who remained on Bataan surrendered in April 1942. Japanese soldiers forced the more than 70,000 survivors to march through the jungle on their way to prison camp. More than 10,000 died on what came to be called the **Bataan Death March**. The Japanese treated U.S. and Filipino soldiers brutally. Some prisoners were prevented from drinking water. Others were beaten or shot. Conditions did not improve when they reached the prison camps. Disease soon spread among the sick and poorly fed prisoners.

Halting the Japanese Advance

By the summer of 1942, the Japanese were ready to strike Australia, India, and through Hawaii to the Pacific coast of the United States. The commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Admiral Chester Nimitz, did not consider the attack on Pearl Harbor a complete disaster. "It was God's mercy that our fleet was in Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941," Nimitz said. Much of the sunken battle fleet was salvageable because the ships sat in the shallow waters of the harbor. Furthermore, none of the aircraft carriers had been in port at the time of the attack. The U.S. fleet recovered quickly and was soon fighting again.

The Battle of the Coral Sea. Nimitz was an aggressive commander who preferred to attack, thereby pressuring his opponents into making mistakes. On May 7, 1942, a Japanese force on its way to attack Port Moresby, New Guinea, seized Tulagi (too-LAH-gee) Island, one of the Solomon Islands. Before the Japanese could reach New Guinea, however, a joint British-U.S. naval force intercepted them. Planes from U.S. aircraft carriers damaged one Japanese carrier and destroyed another and several aircraft. The **Battle of the Coral Sea** was an important Allied victory. Although the Allies lost a carrier, the battle stopped the Japanese advance on Australia.

The Battle of Midway. The second major naval battle in the Pacific, the **Battle of Midway**, took place early in June 1942. Seeking to crush the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Japan launched a two-pronged attack. One unit seized two of the Aleutian Islands, near Alaska. They hoped to lure part of the U.S. fleet away from Hawaii. Meanwhile, the Japanese carried out their main attack against Midway, two small islands northwest of Hawaii. U.S. experts had broken the Japanese fleet code so the United States had advance warning of the Japanese strategy. Nimitz later recalled, "Had we lacked early information of the Japanese

movements, . . . the Battle of Midway would have ended differently." Instead, Nimitz was able to assemble U.S. aircraft carriers and destroyers north of Midway to ambush the Japanese attack.

Americans and Japanese clashed June 3–6. U.S. fighters, dive-bombers, and torpedo planes sank four Japanese aircraft carriers and shot down many enemy planes. The U.S. victory proved crucial. Japan lost ships, planes, and a number of skilled pilots.

Guadalcanal. After the Battle of Midway, the United States launched its first major offensive. In August 1942, American marines waded ashore at Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands. For six desperate months, they clung to a toehold around the airport.

Major General Alexander A. Vandegrift, commander of the U.S. Marines on Guadalcanal, described the ferocious fighting. "I have never heard or read of this kind of fighting. These people [the Japanese] refuse to surrender. The wounded will wait till men come up to examine them, and blow themselves and the other fellow to death with a hand grenade."

In November the Japanese sent a huge fleet to the Solomons. They hoped to recapture Guadalcanal, but the U.S. fleet defeated the Japanese in a bloody battle. The tide of battle in the Pacific had finally turned in the Allies' favor.

Pacific Offensives

After their victory at Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands, the Allies had gone on the offensive in the Pacific. Their ultimate objective was to come within striking distance of Japan itself.

Island-hopping. Air and sea power were the keys to victory in the Pacific, unlike in Europe where land forces played a much larger role. As early as 1942 the U.S. high command had adopted a strategy of **island-hopping**. This meant that troops would attack and seize only certain strategic Japanese-held islands, rather than trying to recapture all of them. Japanese garrisons located on islands bypassed by the Allies would be cut off from supplies and troop reinforcements. Airstrips built on seized islands would help support the next Allied advance. In the central Pacific, an island-hopping offensive began in November 1943 in the Gilbert Islands. Army troops quickly took Makin Island.

Victory in the Pacific

These Pacific victories gave the United States several strategic bases from which to launch B-29 bombers against the Japanese home islands. U.S. planes bombed most of the country's major cities in an effort to weaken the fighting spirit of the Japanese. The worst raid took place over Tokyo in March 1945 and created huge firestorms that destroyed much of the city. The massive destruction caused Japanese civilian morale to sag, but the country's military leaders refused to surrender.

Iwo Jima. In February 1945, U.S. Marines attacked the island of Iwo Jima—just 750 miles from Tokyo—and met strong resistance. Despite a U.S. victory being nearly certain, Japanese forces fought as fiercely as ever. The **Battle of Iwo Jima** lasted six weeks. Several thousand marines and more than 20,000 Japanese soldiers were killed. One marine who fought on Iwo Jima described the fighting.



"The casualty rate was enormous. It was ghastly. Iwo was a volcanic island with very little concealment. Cover is something you hide behind—a tree, a bush, a rock. Few trees. No grass. It was almost like a piece of the moon that had dropped down to earth."

—Ted Allenby, quoted in *Ordinary Americans*, edited by Linda R. Monk

U.S. Marines struggled to take Mount Suribachi, which the Japanese held with a strong system of tunnels and bunkers. When the marines finally reached the mountaintop, they planted the U.S. flag in the rocky soil to celebrate their hard-fought victory. Photographer Joe Rosenthal recorded the moment in a picture that would win him a Pulitzer Prize.

Okinawa. On April 1, 1945, the largest landing force in Pacific history invaded Okinawa, about 350 miles from Japan. The Japanese forces chose not to challenge the landing. To avoid putting themselves in range of the massive guns of U.S. battleships and other warships, the Japanese retreated to the southern tip of the island. Five hours after the landing began, the marines had captured one airfield and not a single shot had been fired.

Five days later, the Japanese attacked. Some 700 Japanese planes attacked the U.S. beachheads and naval task force. Three-hundred fifty of these planes were **kamikaze**, or suicide planes. *Kamikaze* is a Japanese word meaning "divine wind."

Six U.S. ships were sunk, and 135 kamikaze pilots died. After the war, Admiral Nimitz recalled, "Nothing that happened in the war was a surprise, absolutely nothing except the kamikaze tactics toward the end; we had not visualized these."

This **Battle of Okinawa** was perhaps the bloodiest of the Pacific war. The Japanese troops dug in deeply and fought to the death. Japanese troops hid in caves that dotted the island. The U.S. troops had to attack and subdue each individual cave, often by filling the cave with fire from flamethrowers. About 49,000 U.S. troops were killed or wounded in the battle. More than 100,000 Japanese died in the fighting.

By early April, an Allied victory in the Pacific was near, but President Roosevelt did not live to see the end of hostilities with Japan. The world was stunned when he died suddenly on April 12. The new president, **Harry S. Truman**, faced a grave decision. Germany's surrender had allowed Allied forces to concentrate their efforts on the war in the Pacific. Despite repeated Allied bombings, however, Japan remained a dangerous opponent, willing to fight to the very end. Truman had to decide whether the United States should use its fearsome new weapon, the atomic bomb.

Interpreting Maps The Allies gained momentum in the Pacific war after the Battle of Midway, which cost Japan four aircraft carriers and many of its pilots.



Early Fighting in Europe and the Mediterranean

By the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Axis Powers controlled much of Europe and the lands around the Mediterranean. Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania had joined the Axis Powers. Yugoslavia and Greece had been occupied, and southern Europe was firmly under Axis control. Throughout most of 1942 the Axis Powers achieved one victory after another.

The Germans and their allies scored victories on many different fronts. German submarines, or U-boats, patrolled the Atlantic Ocean. They sank Allied military and merchant ships and nearly cut off British supply lines. In the first half of 1942, German U-boats sank more than 500 ships off the U.S. East Coast.

North Africa. Italian forces had launched an invasion of North Africa in 1940. When British troops later began to inflict heavy damage on the Italians, Adolf Hitler sent in the German Afrika Korps under commander **Erwin Rommel**. Known as the Desert Fox, Rommel had advanced as far as El Alamein, Egypt, by July 1942. His troops were ready to take the Suez Canal and the oil fields of the Middle East.

Rommel's skill as a military leader led even Winston Churchill to later admit that "[he was] a great general." However, Rommel suffered from shortages of men and supplies. The British, led by General **Bernard Montgomery**, turned this shortage to their advantage. In the fall of 1942 Montgomery pushed Rommel's troops steadily westward out of Egypt and into Libya. The British victory in the Battle of El Alamein helped turn the corner for the Allies in North Africa.

Stalingrad. In Europe, German troops had penetrated far into the Soviet Union after their initial attack in June 1941. As the Germans advanced, they captured many industrial centers as well as rich grain-fields in the Ukraine. By winter German forces were closing in on Moscow. The Germans also laid siege to Leningrad. For months the men, women, and children defending the city endured a nightmare of shell fire and starvation.

In the summer of 1942, German troops that had been pushing toward the oil fields of southern Russia approached the key city of Stalingrad. By the fall of 1942, German troops were fighting for control of the city.

The Soviet forces refused to surrender, however, and eventually surrounded the German soldiers in Stalingrad. Throughout a terrible winter the Germans hung on, forbidden by Hitler to surrender. Trapped in the ruined city with few supplies and little food, the Axis troops finally surrendered in late January 1943. The German force suffered about 200,000 casualties. The Allied victories at El Alamein and Stalingrad broke the momentum of the Axis advance. Said British prime minister Winston Churchill: "Before Alamein we never had a victory. After Alamein we never had a defeat."

Allied Attacks in the Mediterranean

By late 1942 U.S. supplies and troops began to make a difference in the war. However, it would take another two years of hard fighting to defeat the Axis Powers. Soon after Pearl Harbor, the Allies agreed that they would open a second front against the Axis Powers in order to relieve pressure on the Soviet Union. However, Allied forces were not prepared to launch a direct assault on either German-occupied France or Vichy-controlled southern France. At British prime minister Winston Churchill's urging, the Allies decided to attack first in the Mediterranean region.

Axis surrender in North Africa. After France surrendered in 1940, Germany placed France's colonies in North Africa under the control of Vichy France. The following year British forces turned back the Axis attempt to capture the Suez Canal and drove the German and Italian forces into Libya. In November 1942 the Allies planned Operation Torch, an invasion of the French territory in northwest Africa. General **Dwight D. Eisenhower** commanded the invasion force of U.S. and British soldiers.

Allied leaders were unsure if the French forces in North Africa would oppose the invasion. Early on the morning of November 8, some 65,000 Allied troops landed at Casablanca in Morocco and Oran and Algiers in Algeria. Nearly twice that number of French forces awaited them. Troops landing at Casablanca faced the greatest difficulties, encountering both heavy surf and French resistance. Allied troops captured Algiers that day and Oran two days later.

As the soldiers established beachheads in Morocco and Algeria, Allied planes and ships cut Axis supply lines from Italy. Then, during the winter of 1942–43, two Allied land forces—one from the west and the other from the east—began to force the Axis troops into a trap. Several fierce battles took place in Tunisia. Finally, in May 1943, the Axis force of some 250,000 soldiers surrendered.

The invasion of Italy. North Africa offered a gateway to the Italian island of Sicily. Allied leaders decided to invade Sicily next. They sought to clear the Axis forces out of the central Mediterranean and to acquire a launching point for an invasion of the Italian mainland. Battling high winds and rough seas, Allied troops landed in July 1943. They subdued Sicily in a little more than a month. General **George S. Patton**, who had emerged as a leader during the North Africa campaign, guided the U.S. forces.

The Italian king named a new prime minister to replace Benito Mussolini and ordered Mussolini's arrest. Determined not to surrender the Italian peninsula, the Germans took Mussolini to Germany and then set up a base for him in northern Italy. In September the Italian government signed an armistice with the Allies. Soon afterward the Allies invaded southern Italy to attack the Germans. Although the Allies took Naples on October 1, they soon bogged down.

Hoping to outflank the German forces, the Allies landed to the south of Rome at Anzio in January 1944. After the landing, however, the Allies were pinned down for months. U.S. and British forces then began driving slowly north. They were joined by small units of troops from more than 25 countries. After months of bitter mountain warfare, the Germans occupying Italy were finally defeated. Soon afterward Mussolini was captured and shot by Italian rebels. In June 1944 the Allies marched into Rome, making it the first Axis capital to fall.

Sea and Air Assaults

During the fighting in the Mediterranean, the Allies waged campaigns on other fronts. In the Atlantic, German U-boats continued to take a staggering toll on Allied ships, lives, and supplies. Not until 1943 did this **Battle of the Atlantic** begin to turn in the Allies' favor. An important factor was the refinement of **sonar** equipment, which uses sound waves to detect underwater objects. The Allies also developed fast escort ships for convoys and air-bombed German U-boats and submarine yards. By 1944 the Allies had won the Battle of the Atlantic.

In 1943 the Allies intensified their air campaign of strategic bombing aimed at destroying German military production and undermining the morale of the German people. "It was sound strategy to prevent the *Wehrmacht* [German armed forces] from falling back to regroup and be lethal [deadly] again," Lieutenant John Morris explained. "We bombed . . . the railroad marshaling yards and road hubs along the *Wehrmacht's* line of retreat, up and down Germany's eastern border." British Royal

Air Force (RAF) planes flew chiefly at night, dropping their bombs in the general area of a given target. U.S. aircraft concentrated on precision bombing in daylight raids. By 1944, bombers had dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of explosives on German factories, supply lines, and military centers.

Operation Overlord

Victory in the Atlantic and air assaults on Germany paved the way for Operation Overlord—the long-awaited Allied invasion of German-occupied France. U.S. Army chief of staff and key Allied strategist **George C. Marshall** led the planning. Many believed that he would also lead the Allied forces, but he chose to remain in Washington to advise President Roosevelt. Instead, General Eisenhower commanded the invasion. The Allies put in place a system of dummy installations and false clues to convince the Germans that the invasion would take place near Calais on the English Channel.

Instead, the Allies landed farther south, in Normandy, on **D-Day**, June 6, 1944. Nearly 5,000 troop transports, landing craft, and warships carried some 150,000 U.S., British, and Canadian soldiers across the Channel. General **Omar Bradley** led the U.S. troops that landed at Normandy. Overhead, planes dropped close to 23,000 airborne troops and bombed roads, bridges, and German troop concentrations. Corporal Samuel Fuller recalled encountering fierce resistance with the U.S. 1st Infantry Division on Omaha Beach.

The Germans had fortified the Normandy beaches with concrete bunkers, tank traps, and mines. The beaches resembled a giant fortress, but the Allied campaign of disinformation and distraction had done its job. Adolf Hitler refused to send reinforcements to the area around Normandy. He still believed that the main invasion would occur elsewhere.

Although the Allies met determined opposition, they managed to penetrate 20 miles into France by early July. Aided by the French Resistance, the Allies drove steadily eastward. They liberated Paris on August 25, 1944. By early September more than 2 million Allied troops had landed in western Europe. Another Allied force drove northward through France from the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Soviet troops pressed Germany from the east.

When the Allies liberated the death camps, they found thousands of starving survivors. Romanian-born writer **Elie Wiesel** was one such survivor. He described the deep psychological scars left on concentration camp survivors.



“One day I was able to get up, after gathering all my strength. I wanted to see myself in the mirror hanging on the opposite wall. I had not seen myself since the ghetto. From the depths of the mirror, a corpse gazed back at me. The look in his eyes, as they stared into mine, has never left me.”

—Elie Wiesel, *Night*

To carry out this monstrous genocide, the Nazis took advantage of a long history of anti-Semitism in Europe that stretched back to the Middle Ages. A flood of Nazi propaganda against Jews stirred up this anti-Semitism. Some non-Jews in Nazi-occupied countries either assisted the Nazis or failed to prevent them from sending Jewish citizens off to the death camps. Others worked heroically to save the lives of Jews.

✓ **READING CHECK: Summarizing** How was the Holocaust carried out?

Defeating Germany

Although Germany's situation was grave, Adolf Hitler refused to give up. In September 1944 the Germans launched their first V-2s, or long-range rockets, at cities in England and Belgium. These bombs could not be shot down easily.

The Battle of the Bulge. By September 1944 the Allies had crossed the German border. As they paused to bring in supplies and to regroup, the Germans launched their final counterattack. In heavy snow, they drove against the Allies in the thickly wooded Ardennes region of Belgium and northern France. They pushed westward to create a dangerous bulge in the Allied lines. In the resulting **Battle of the Bulge** some 200,000 Germans attacked an initial U.S. force of about 80,000 troops.

The U.S. 101st Airborne Division defending the Belgian town of Bastogne was completely surrounded. When German officers demanded the 101st's surrender, General Anthony McAuliffe offered a one-word reply: "Nuts." Allied generals rushed in reinforcements, and the Allies pushed the Germans back. Francis Tsuzuki, whose Japanese American battalion pursued the Germans, recalled, "the Germans were retreating so fast. At times we were moving . . . more than 100 miles a day." By January 1945 it was clear that the German offensive had failed.

The Yalta Conference. In February 1945 President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin met at the **Yalta Conference** to plan for the postwar peace. At the conference Stalin pledged to declare war on Japan three months after Germany's surrender. They agreed to divide and occupy Germany after the war and outlined plans for a new international peace organization.

The urgency of the war effort convinced President Roosevelt to run for an unprecedented fourth term. With Missouri senator Harry S Truman as his running mate, Roosevelt won his party's nomination with little opposition. The Republicans chose Thomas E. Dewey, governor of New York. Dewey lacked the charisma and experience of Roosevelt and was defeated by an electoral vote of 432 to 99.

The race to Berlin. During the early months of 1945, Allied bombers continued to blast German cities, including Leipzig and Berlin. One of the most devastating attacks hit Dresden in February. In one massive two-day attack, Allied bombers caused the worst firestorms of the European war. Total civilian deaths have been estimated at between 30,000 and 60,000.

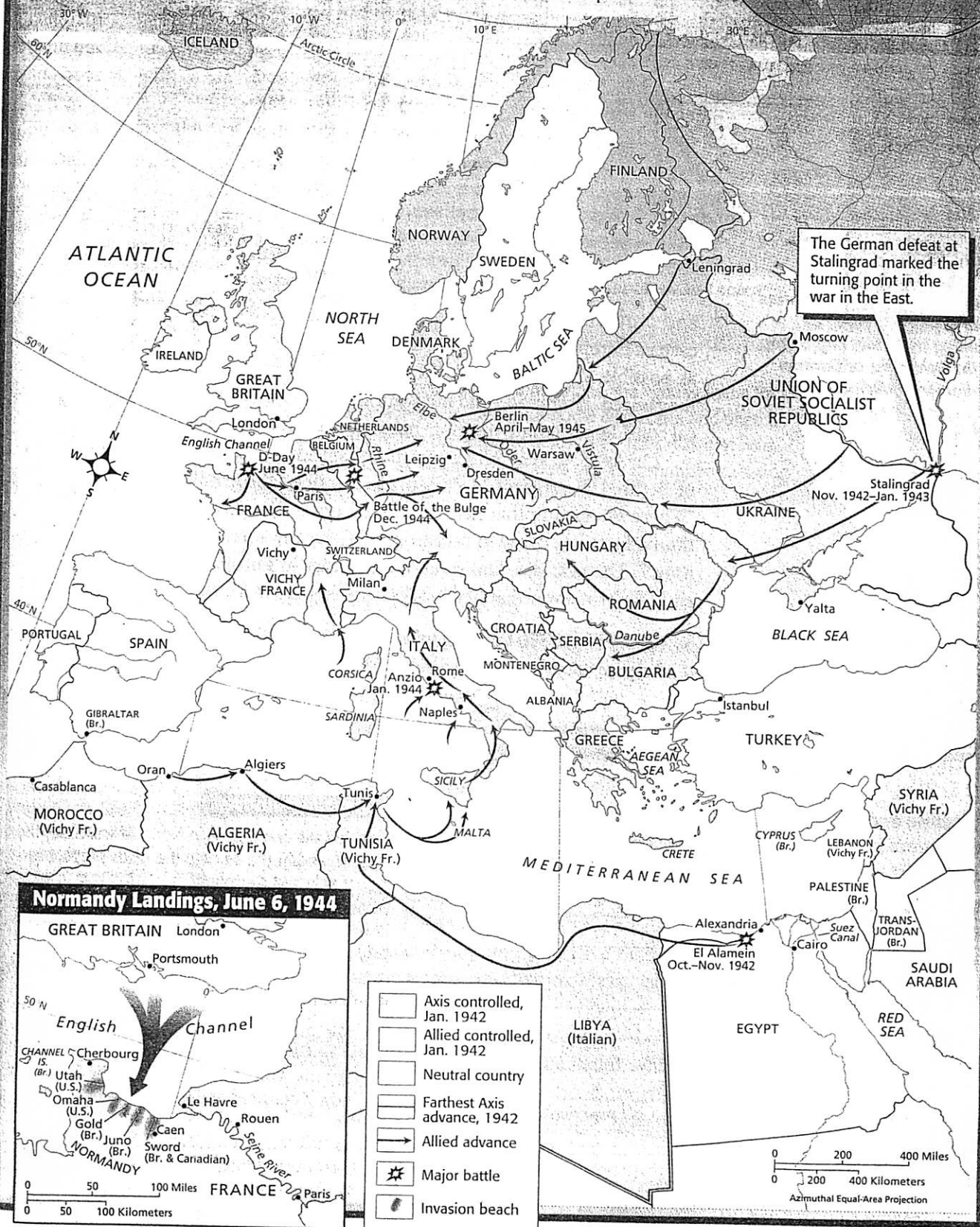
In March, Allied troops crossed the Rhine River from the west and drove into the heart of Germany. By then, Soviet troops occupied much of eastern Europe. Churchill wanted General Eisenhower to push east as far and as fast as possible. Churchill worried that the Soviets might later lay claim to territories they seized. Eisenhower did not want military strategy to be determined by political considerations and therefore halted the Allied advance at the Elbe River in April.

On April 30, 1945, Hitler committed suicide in his bunker deep under the ruins of Berlin. U.S. sergeant Mack Morriss described the grim mood of the fallen city. "There is a feeling that here has ended not only a city but a nation, that here a titanic force has come to catastrophe." Germany surrendered unconditionally on May 7. The next day, known as V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, marked the formal end of a brutal war that had held Europe in its grip for more than five years.

World War II in Europe, 1942-1945

Interpreting Maps After being battered at El Alamein, Rommel retreated some 1,250 miles to Tunisia in eight weeks. By 1943 Africa was cleared of Axis forces.

2 LOCATE Where did the major battles in the European theater take place?



Key Events in WWII
War in the Pacific

Name of Battle	What Happened? Key points of the battle & major players	How did it alter the course of the war?	Symbol for Map
1. 1942: Conflict in the Philippines			
2. 1942: The Battle of Coral Sea			
3. 1942: Battle of Midway			
4. 1942: Guadalcanal			
5. 1942-to the end: Island Hopping (While this isn't a battle, explain the significance of the strategy)			
6. 1945: Iwo Jima			
7. 1945: Okinawa			

Key Events in WWII
War in Europe & North Africa

Name of Battle	What Happened? Key points of the battle & major players	How did it alter the course of the war?	Symbol for Map
1. 1940-1942: North African Front			
2. 1941-1943: Stalingrad			
3. 1943: Italian Campaign			
4. Sea & Air Assaults			
5. 1944: Operation Overlord (D-Day)			
6. 1944: Battle of the Bulge			
7. 1945: Race to Berlin			

Takaki, Ronald. Double Victory: A Multicultural History of WWII. ©2000

Directions:
Read &
annotate!

Start here! →

3

"BOMB THE COLOR LINE" The War Against Jim Crow

FOR HIS DISTINGUISHED devotion to duty and great courage during the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Dorie Miller was awarded the Navy Cross. The War Department sent the hero on a national tour to promote enlistments. Miller returned to the Pacific battlefront, and in December 1943 was listed as missing in action. An African-American song of World War II honored this sharecroppers' son who had given his life for his country:

In nineteen hundred and forty-one
Colored mess boy manned the gun
Although he had never been trained
Had the nerves ever seen
God willing and mother wit
Gon' be great Dorie Miller yet
Grabbed a gun and took dead aim
Japanese bombers into fiery flame
He was aiming the Japs to fight
Fought at the poles to make things right
Fight on Dorie Miller I know you tried

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"Bomb the Color Line"

Did your best for the side
I love Dorie Miller cause he's my race.¹

"One of the Strangest Paradoxes":

A Segregated Army Fights for Democracy

Four years before Miller's act of bravery at Pearl Harbor, Charles H. Houston of the NAACP had demanded that Franklin D. Roosevelt issue an executive order banning all racial discrimination in the armed forces.² But in 1940, Roosevelt signed into law the Selective Service Act, which included a provision that prohibited the intermingling of "colored and white" army personnel in the same regiments.³ "Such a mingling [of whites and blacks] was not a part of the President's policy," stated White House aide General Edwin M. Watson, "and for practical reasons it would be impossible to put into operation. It would seem that Negroes might be inspired to take pride in the efficiency of Negro units in the Army, as representing their contribution to the armed forces."⁴

Roosevelt's refusal to integrate the armed forces provoked disbelief and anger across black America. In a telegram to the White House, A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters declared: "We are inexpressibly shocked that a President of the United States at a time of national peril should surrender so completely to enemies of democracy who would destroy national unity by advocating segregation. Official approval by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of such discrimination and segregation is a stab in the back of democracy."⁵ The NAACP denounced the army's segregationist policy: "Declarations of war do not lessen the obligation to preserve and extend civil liberties here while the fight is being made to restore freedom from dictatorship abroad. . . . A Jim Crow army cannot fight for a free world."⁶ On October 9, 1940, the *Crisis* carried the headline: "WHITE HOUSE BLESSES JIM CROW."⁷

Blacks highlighted the hypocrisy. "Democracy must wage a two-fold battle — a battle on far flung foreign fields against Hitler, and

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a battle on the home front against Hitlerism," insisted Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a New York City councilman. "How can white Americans expect to have a tolerant world after this war when there is racial prejudice within the ranks of those who are fighting?"⁸ Black columnist George Schuyler castigated the jim crow army: "Our war is not against Hitler in Europe, but against Hitler in America. Our war is not to defend democracy, but to get a democracy we have never had."⁹ In his protest against segregation in the U.S. Armed Forces, the editor of the *Chicago Defender* declared: "We are not exaggerating when we say that the American Negro is damned tired of spilling his blood for empty promises of better days. Why die for democracy for some foreign country when we don't even have it here?" In order to unite the country and win the conflict, the *Defender's* editor demanded that America "bomb the color line."¹⁰

"Prove to us," blacks challenged whites, "that you are not hypocrites when you say this is a war for freedom." For African Americans, the war for freedom had to be fought in their country's own backyard. "The Army jim-crows us," complained a student. "The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. . . . Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disfranchised . . . spat upon. What more can Hitler do than that."¹¹ In a letter to the NAACP, a soldier wrote: "I am a Negro soldier 22 years old. I won't fight or die in vain. If I fight, suffer or die it will be for the freedom of every black man to live equally with other races. If the life of the Negro in the United States is right as it is lived today, then I would rather be dead."¹² Scheduled to be drafted into the army, a youth declared: "Just carve on my tombstone, 'Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.'"¹³ In a poem published in an African-American newspaper, another young man asked:

Dear Lord, today
I go to war:

"Bomb the Color Line"

To fight, to die,
Tell me what for?

Dear Lord, I'll fight,
I do not fear,
Germans or Japs;
My fears are here.
America!¹⁴

STOP HERE

The army's color line symbolized white domination in America. "Whitey owns everything," grumbled Malcolm Little, who would later rename himself Malcolm X. "He wants us to go and bleed for him? Let him fight." In 1943, Little received his induction notice. When he reported for his physical examination, he was "costumed like an actor," wearing a "wild zoot suit" and "yellow knob-toe shoes" and his hair frizzled into "a reddish bush of conk." He greeted the soldier at the desk: "Crazy-o, daddy-o, get me moving. I can't wait to get in that brown." The nurse noticed Little's strange behavior and ushered him into the office of the psychiatrist. "Suddenly, I sprang up and peeped under both doors," recalled Little, "the one I'd entered and another that was probably the closet." Then Little bent over and whispered in the psychiatrist's ear: "Daddy-o, now you and me, we're from up North here, so don't you tell nobody. I want to get sent down South. Organize them nigger soldiers, you dig? Steal us some guns, and kill up crackers!"¹⁵ Shortly afterward, Little received a 4-F card.¹⁶

Unlike Little, Winfred W. Lynn of Jamaica, New York, chose to confront rather than evade the discriminatory draft law. In June 1942, after receiving his draft notice, Lynn informed his draft board that he was ready to serve in any unit of the armed forces which was not segregated by race. "Unless I am assured that I can serve in a mixed regiment and that I will not be compelled to serve in a unit undemocratically selected as a Negro group," Lynn wrote, "I will refuse to report for induction." He claimed that his induc-

(Continued: Bomb the Color Line - "The War Against Jim Crow")

Training programs were also segregated. African American soldiers also faced servile work assignments. Skilled blacks found themselves occupationally downgraded. "A lone soldier" wrote to the *Pittsburgh Courier*: "We are members of the 78 Aviation Sqdr, and it seems like we are not being treated fair. Most of us got trades of our own to help win this war, But instead we are servants and ditch diggers and we want better... they got us here washing dishes, working around the officers houses and waiting on them, instead of trying to win this war they got us in ditches...."

More stressful than experiencing discrimination on army bases was facing the terrible threat of hate violence, especially in small Southern towns. While training at Tuskegee, Alabama, pilot Fred Smith of Chicago was warned by officers: "Don't go off the base or you won't come back. You'll be lynched." On April 3, 1941, at Fort Benning, Georgia, the body of Private Felix Hall was found hanging from a tree, his hands bound behind his back. In a "Statement to the Nation" issued in June 1943, the NAACP declared "The continued ill treatment of Negroes in uniform both on military reservations and in many civilian communities is disgraceful. Negroes in uniform of the nation have been beaten, mobbed, killed, and lynched." The proclamation of the "Four Freedoms," the NAACP said, would be regarded as hypocritical by colored people around the world until President Roosevelt acted to end discrimination in the Army.

Assigned to service and support duties, African Americans composed half of the Transportation Corps in Europe. The transportation corps biggest task was feeding an enormous army in movement. Although they were given support assignment, black soldiers in the Transportation Corps found they were sometimes needed for military duties. "We were responsible for keeping the German saboteurs from blowing up our ammunition," recalled a soldier. "The Germans had dropped young fellows who lived in places like New York and Chicago and spoke perfect English. They could talk about the Brooklyn Dodgers and the White Sox. You couldn't distinguish them from Americans." To avoid such possible confusion, the Army command ordered all white soldiers off the streets at night and assigned black soldiers to do patrol duty.

Tuskegee Airmen

~~COLOR LINE~~ when the life of this nation is threatened?"⁴² In response to this pressure, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson authorized the training of black aviation cadets in a segregated unit at Tuskegee Air Force Base. While welcoming the Tuskegee training program as "a step in the right direction," the *Crisis* argued that the solution still adhered to "the old Army pattern of segregation."⁴³

Sent to Europe as members of the all-black 99th Pursuit Squadron and 332nd Fighter Group, the Tuskegee pilots fought the German Luftwaffe in aerial combat. For their heroic service in Sicily and Italy, two of them were awarded the Distinguished Unit Citation, the air force's highest commendation. When General Ira C. Aker, commanding officer of the Mediterranean Air Force, inspected the 99th Pursuit Squadron on April 20, 1944, he declared: "By the magnificent showing your fliers have made since coming into this theatre, and especially in the Anzio beachhead operations, you have not only won the plaudits of the Air Force, but have earned the opportunity to apply your talents to much more advanced work than was at one time planned for you."⁴⁴

After Italy, the pilots of the 99th Pursuit Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group escorted bombers over France and then Berlin itself. As the protectors of white pilots flying bombers en route to enemy targets, the Tuskegee pilots earned great respect, and bombing groups began requesting them as escorts. "They all wanted us," explained Coleman Young, "because we were the only fighter group in the entire air force that did not lose a bomber to enemy action. Oh, we were much in demand."⁴⁵

A BATTLE LINE ON THE HOME FRONT

The war revived the American economy as an "arsenal for democracy." But, as it turned out, defense jobs were not democratically distributed: most of them were reserved for whites only. Seventy-five percent of the war industries refused to hire blacks, while 15 percent hired them only for menial jobs. In 1940, blacks constituted only 0.2 percent of the workers in aircraft production. Of the 6,000 employees of Vultee Aircraft in 1941, none were black. "It is not the policy of this company," the defense contractor stated, "to employ other than of the Caucasian race."⁶² Only ten of the 33,000 workers of Douglas Aircraft Company were black. "While we are in complete sympathy with the Negro," the president of North American Aviation stated frankly, "it is against company policy to employ them as aircraft workers or mechanics . . . regardless of their training."⁶³ On the cover of its July issue, the *Crisis* featured a photograph of an airplane factory with the caption "For Whites Only." The NAACP denounced discrimi-

nation in the defense industry: "Warplanes — Negro Americans may not build them, repair them, or fly them, but they must help pay for them."⁶⁴

Confined to the unskilled and the service occupations before the war, African Americans wanted the better and higher-paying factory jobs generated by the war. As the country began to mobilize its war economy in early 1941, branches of the NAACP organized protests against discrimination in the defense plants of Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, and other cities. Pickets carried signs with messages: "Let's Blitzkrieg the Color Line," "Down with Jim-Crow in National Defense," "If We Can Fight for Democracy, We Can Work for Democracy," "A Bullet Draws No Color Line But Bullet Makers Do," "Not Hitlerism But Americanism, Jobs for All."⁶⁵

The political iron was hot. Unwilling to wait for employers to open their doors voluntarily, African Americans demanded action from the federal government. At a 1941 meeting in Chicago, a black woman called for a mass demonstration in Washington: "We ought to throw 50,000 Negroes around the White House, bring them from all over the country, in jalopies, in trains and any way they can get there, and throw them around the White House and keep them there until we can get some action from the White House."⁶⁶

The idea of a march on Washington seized the imagination of A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "Let the Negro masses speak," he declared. "Negroes have a stake in National Defense. It is a big stake. . . . The stake involves jobs. It involves equal employment opportunities."⁶⁷ In his "Call to the March on Washington," Randolph demanded an end to discrimination not only in the military but also in the defense industries: "Negroes, by the mobilization and coordination of their mass power, can cause PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TO ISSUE AN EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOLISHING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, ARMY, NAVY, AIR CORPS AND NATIONAL DEFENSE JOBS."⁶⁸

Randolph was determined to make Roosevelt do the right thing; translate the pronouncements of the democratic war aims abroad

into practices of equality at home. "An 'all-out' thundering march on Washington," the union leader promised, "ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument will shake up white America."⁶⁹ Randolph's threat of a mass demonstration alarmed Washington officials. "What will they think in Berlin?" they anxiously asked. Blacks replied: "Oh, perhaps no more than they already think of America's racial policy."⁷⁰ The march was scheduled for July 1.

At the White House on June 18, Roosevelt met with civil rights leaders, including Randolph. Opening the discussion with small talk, the President said: "Hello, Phil. Which class were you in at Harvard?" Randolph replied: "I never went to Harvard." Roosevelt then began entertaining his guests with old political anecdotes. Impatient, Randolph respectfully interrupted: "Mr. President, time is running on. You are quite busy, I know. But what we want to talk with you about is the problem of jobs for Negroes in defense industries. Our people are being turned away at factory gates because they are colored. They can't live with this thing. Now, what are you going to do about it?"

Roosevelt offered to call up the heads of defense plants and urge them to hire blacks. "We want you to do more than that," Randolph countered. "We want something concrete, something tangible, definite, positive, and affirmative." Asked what he meant, Randolph presented his radical proposal: "Mr. President, we want you to issue an executive order making it mandatory that Negroes be permitted to work in these plants." Roosevelt said that he would not do anything unless the march was first called off. "Questions like this can't be settled with a sledge hammer." Randolph replied: "I'm sorry, Mr. President, the march cannot be called off." Then Roosevelt asked the black leader how many people would be at the march. "One hundred thousand, Mr. President."⁷¹

A week later, Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802: "There shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin . . . and it is the duty of employers and of labor or-

ganizations . . . to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin." His order also established the Committee on Fair Employment Practices to investigate complaints of discrimination and take appropriate steps to redress valid grievances.⁷²

The march was canceled. Black munitions worker Margaret Wright recalled that it was only Randolph's threat of a march on Washington that "made Roosevelt give this proclamation, because no one does anything — you never get anything — out of the goodness of people's hearts."⁷³

But Roosevelt's new policy was designed for failure. In its first year of operation, the FEPC had but seven field officers and five clerical workers, with a budget of only \$80,000. Even after the committee's personnel were increased, its budget totaled only \$431,609, far below the funding allocated to other government departments.

Moreover, Roosevelt's FEPC had no teeth to enforce equal employment. According to a federal government report, blacks were complaining that the FEPC had "no power to penalize violators of the non-discrimination order," and that the committee's hearings were merely "a token of the government's wish to rectify the situation, rather than an actual solution of the problem."⁷⁴ In *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*, George E. DeMar pointed out that Roosevelt's "Executive Order was accepted as policy, but all too often not for practice, by those holding war contracts."⁷⁵ In "An Open Letter to President Roosevelt — An Editorial," the *Crisis* impatiently informed the President that in too many communities "your Executive Order 8802 was being defied and sabotaged by management and labor alike."⁷⁶

Knowing that the government would not interfere with war production and that the FEPC had neither the power nor the will to desegregate, white laborers resisted the federal government's efforts to integrate the war industries. In 1943, for example, twenty thousand white workers rioted to protest the upgrading of black

welders in the Alabama Dry Dock and Shipbuilders Company. After federal troops intervened, the FEPC agreed to allow segregation to continue in the shipyards.

Ultimately, the real pressure for employment integration came from the sheer need for labor in America's booming war industries. Almost 1 million African Americans entered the industrial labor force during the war years. At the beginning of 1942, only 3 percent of defense workers were black; by November 1944, that number had jumped to 8.3 percent. Blacks constituted 25 percent of the labor force in foundries and 12 percent in shipbuilding and steel mills.⁷⁷ They also entered employment in the auto industry. In 1943, 55,000 of the 450,000 members of Detroit's United Auto Workers were African Americans. During the war years, the wages of black families increased from 40 percent to 60 percent of that of white families.⁷⁸

Pulled by job opportunities in the war industries, over a half million African Americans left the South. During the decade of the 1940s, the percentage of blacks living in the South declined from 77 percent to 68 percent. Following the jobs to the cities, blacks classified as urban dwellers increased from 49 percent to 62 percent. They migrated, again as they had during World War I, to the Midwestern cities like Chicago and Detroit. But this time, they also went to California, where they found war-related jobs in Los Angeles, Oakland, Richmond, and San Francisco. "I came to California in 1943," recalled Ella Johnson. "The shipyard people came to Louisiana offering \$1.20 an hour to work in California. I'd work for as little as 25 cents an hour, 50 cents an hour, and thinking I was doing pretty good. Had I ever seen a ship? I imagine I had not. I didn't even know what a ship looked like. But they were hiring, so we went."⁷⁹ **STOP HERE**

As a teenager living in San Francisco at the time, Maya Angelou witnessed the movement of blacks into the Fillmore District, which had been inhabited by Japanese Americans until their evacuation and internment. "As the Japanese disappeared, soundlessly and without protest," she wrote in her autobiography, "the Ne-

A Battle Line on the Home Front

Of the 1 million African Americans who entered defense employment during the war years, 600,000 were women. Between 1940 and 1944, the percentage of black women in industry increased from 6.5 percent to 18 percent of the female workforce. For African American women, defense work offered escape from domestic work. Between 1940 and 1944 the proportion of black women employed in housework declined from 60 percent to 45 percent. Even after doors were opened to black women, however, they often found themselves assigned to non-skilled jobs such as janitors and cafeteria workers. Many women also found that they had two shifts: one at the plant and a second at home. Wanita Allen complained that she had to "rush, rush, rush" — get dinner ready, wash clothes, iron clothes, clean the house. "By the time I got in bed it was time to get up in the morning."

The war had given African Americans a taste of the honey of equality. "A lot of blacks that were sharecropping, doing menial work and stuff," said defense worker Margaret Wright, "got into the army and saw how other things were and how things could be. They decided they did not want to go back to what they were doing before. They did not want to walk behind a plow, they wouldn't get on the back of the bus anymore."

As black and white workers followed the defense jobs into the cities, however, they often clashed violently. In 1943, at the height of industrial production for the war, urban race riots exploded across the country. The Social Science Institute at Fisk University reported that 242 racial battles had occurred that year in forty-seven cities.

Tuskegee Airmen **Video Guide**

As you're watching the video, please complete the chart below:

Please note examples of the following: Challenges faced at Tuskegee	
What realities did soldiers face when they returned home after the war?	What did the experience of fighting in the air force provide for the African American soldiers?

MODERN AMERICAN WOMEN

A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Susan Ware

Radcliffe College

THE MCGRAW-HILL COMPANIES, INC.

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CHAPTER 8

Rosie the Riveter and Other Wartime Women

World War II had an unmistakable impact on American society. The task of fighting and winning a global war greatly accelerated the growth of the federal bureaucracy that had begun during the New Deal; federal budgets and functions never returned to their prewar levels. Nor did the United States return to its prewar stance of isolation from international relations. The war also encouraged dramatic social changes on the home front, especially an increase in mobility as people flocked to war jobs or entered the armed services. African Americans were able to lay the groundwork for the postwar civil rights revolution by equating segregation with Nazi white supremacist ideology. Most importantly, defense mobilization brought a return to prosperity after a decade of depression.

The specific impact of the wartime experience on the nation's women is less clear-cut. Some historians have argued that the war represented a major turning point for women because of their dramatic roles in the war effort, especially in defense plants. Others have focused on the persistence of sexism and discrimination against women on the job, in families, and in society as a whole. The weight of the evidence in this historical debate tilts towards analyzing women's wartime experiences in light of long-term trends of employment, demographics, and family roles, rather than seeing the war as a dramatic period of social change.

One of the difficulties of coming to an assessment of the impact of World War II on women is that the impact varies depending on which women are examined. Despite all the media attention to the "Rosie the Riveters" who took on defense jobs, the majority of American women were homemakers during the war. The war permeated every aspect of their daily life. Popular culture and advertising were saturated with patriotic war themes, especially the movies. Household management was challenging during wartime, notably coping with the high inflation rate and the shortages and rationing of most durable consumer

goods, food, and gasoline. Women also performed volunteer services for their communities.

Many women were more directly involved in the war effort. For example, 350,000 women joined the armed services, supplying approximately 2 percent of the total fighting forces. Equally dramatic were changes for the nation's female workers. The female work force grew by 50 percent between 1940 and 1945. These war workers were drawn both from the ranks of women already working (they used the opportunity to leave such traditional female jobs as domestic and personal service for higher-paying industrial work) and new workers, including recent students and former full-time homemakers who joined the war effort for reasons both of patriotism and economics. The wartime economic and social climate was especially liberating for single women, who experienced increasing autonomy and independence in the conduct of their personal lives. Such opportunities were also an important breakthrough for black workers of both sexes, who until the war-induced labor shortage had been barred from most manufacturing and industrial jobs.

These women workers were welcomed into the work force, a stark contrast to the public disapproval that greeted women during the Depression. But much of the public support derived from the conviction that these women workers were only temporary, that they would happily trade their overalls and welding tools for aprons when the men came home from war. Women workers had other ideas. When surveyed, the vast majority wanted to keep their new jobs. In the reconversion process, women did in fact lose many of the gains made during wartime, but they did not return to the home—they just went back to the traditional kinds of female jobs they had always held. After a slight dip after the war, the percentage of women who worked began a steady climb upwards. By 1950, 28.6 percent of adult women were working (down from the wartime peak of 37 percent), comprising 30 percent of the work force. In the postwar period, women showed an increasing propensity to combine marriage and work, a trend first noticed during the Depression but vastly accelerated during wartime.

World War II left other legacies for the nation's women. Because women's work was seen as temporary, there was no underlying shift in public attitudes about women's traditional responsibilities for home and family. In fact, "the unshaken claim of family" was probably intensified by the war: after the years of home front dislocation, returning soldiers and their spouses welcomed a return to normalcy. The marriage and birth rates, which had been artificially suppressed during the Depression, had already begun to rise during the war and would shoot up soon afterwards. So did the divorce rate.

Concentrating on women's displacement from industrial jobs and the continuity of traditional attitudes about women's place leads to fairly negative assessments about the impact of the war on women's lives. Such a view, however, is too shortsighted, for it misses what the wartime experience meant

to individual women. Historian Sherna Gluck, who collected oral histories from female war workers in California, found this common thread to many women's recollections: "I never realized what I could do." Gluck posits that this increase in self-esteem and belief in women's own capabilities spilled over into more egalitarian family and marital relations in the postwar years, but was not translated into a direct challenge of the status quo in the public realm: "Changes in consciousness are not *necessarily* or *immediately* reflected in dramatic alterations in the public world. They may be very quietly played out in the private world of women, yet expressed in a fashion that can both affect future generations and eventually be expressed more openly when the social climate is right." Taking this perspective on the impact of the war on individual women's lives, World War II may turn out to have been more of a watershed for women than historians have realized.

Women in the Armed Forces

Marion Stegeman

Of the more than fifteen million Americans who entered the armed services during World War II, approximately 350,000 were women. Like the Rosie the Riveters, women who joined the armed forces experienced new challenges, greater geographical mobility, and increased responsibility. The largest number served in the Women's Army Corps (WACS)—140,000—followed by 100,000 volunteers for the WAVES (Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service) in the Navy. There were women's branches of the Marines and Coast Guard, and one thousand WASPs (Women's Airforce Service Pilots) did stateside and noncombat air duty.

Avenger Field in Sweetwater, Texas, was the place to be if you were a woman and a pilot in World War II. The letters that Marion Stegeman wrote home convey the excitement of being a WASP, a thrill that was part patriotism but mainly the sheer joy of flying. They also convey the disappointments, like a friend "washing out" (being asked to leave) or, worse, the death of classmates in training exercises. In all, thirty-eight WASPs lost their lives during the war.

Marion Stegeman had learned to fly in a Civilian Pilot Training Program while a student at the University of Georgia, from which she graduated with a degree in journalism and art in 1941. She became a WASP because she "wanted to be part of the action." After her training at Sweetwater, she was stationed at Love Field in Dallas. But, as her last letter shows, she realized that there was no future for women as pilots in the armed services and in 1944 she resigned to marry her boyfriend Ned Hodgson, a Marine stationed in Texas. After the war, they settled in Fort Worth to raise a family, both their lives dramatically and irrevocably affected by their service during World War II.

Sweetwater, Texas
April 24, 1943

Dearest Mother,

The gods must envy me! This is just too, *too* to be true. (By now you realize I had a good day as regards flying. Nothing is such a gauge to the spirits as how well or how poorly one has flown.) Where was I? Oh, yes, I'm far too happy. The law of compensation must be waiting to catch up with me somewhere. Oh, God, how I love it! Honestly, Mother, you haven't *lived* until you get way *up* there—all alone—just you and that big, beautiful plane humming, under your control. I just sit there and sing at the top of my lungs while I'm climbing up to 4,000 feet—or however high I want to go. Of course, I'm too busy to sing while in the middle of aerobatics—but you ought to hear me let loose when I'm "clearing my area" between maneuvers. (We always clear the area first to make sure there are no planes underneath or close by—safety foist!)

The only thing that I know that's going to happen that I won't like is that they are changing my instructors some day soon. Mine is going on to the B.T.'s (Basic trainers—one step ahead of primary trainers) but maybe I'll get him again when I get to the B.T.'s. Hope so! I have no idea who my new instructor will be—I hope I'll like him as much as I do this one. He'll have to be pretty good and mighty nice though, to beat Mr. Wade's time. . . .

Smackers and much love to John, Janet, Joanna and you—M.

[Sweetwater, Texas
Late summer, 1943]

Dear Mom,

... Mother, this was to be a short letter, but now something has happened that I must tell you about.

You may just as well get used to hearing about these things, Mom, because so long as I'm in the flying racket they are bound to happen. Two of my classmates and their instructor were killed yesterday afternoon near Big Spring. . . .

This is no doubt another of those undetermined causes that brings about crashes, and no one will ever know what it was. Maybe it was one of those rare structural failure cases—no one knows. It seems likely, since the instructor was in the plane—Or it could have been that the girls were changing seats in mid air and one of them could've grabbed the wheel for support, thus stalling the plane. There are endless possibilities—Most of them things that *could* have been avoided, as most crashes seem to be. . . .

Don't worry about it, though, Mom, because it's very unusual for anything so mysterious to happen (especially *here*) and they're inspecting all the airplanes before we go up in them again.

As I've told you before, we *do* take chances, but they are small compared to those that thousands take every day all over the world. And we could fall down in our bathtubs at home and be killed, or get in a car and meet death. It's just not up to us to say where or when. You believe that, don't you? We'll talk about it more when I get home. . . .

I love you, Marion

* * *

Tallahassee, Florida
March 30, 1944

Mother, dear:

(1) General Arnold [Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, Chief of the Army Air Forces] says openly that the Army Air Forces has more than enough pilots.

(2) There are experienced instructors now being forced into the foot army—and others out of jobs.

(3) If I go into the Army, they could chain me to a typewriter for the duration plus six months, in spite of anything they might promise.

(4) I can't see myself running around saluting and kow-towing and obeying orders from [those who] . . . will really dish out the works to those of us who have been in only a year and will be mere Second Lieutenants. I can do what I'm told gracefully now only because—underneath it all—I know I don't *have* to.

Summary: All this adds up to a great deal of rationalization that has been taking place since I last saw my love. I want to marry him—now! Of course, though, I'd stay on the job indefinitely as a civilian, because I owe so much, but since the Army is forcing me to become a puppet or resign, I'm tempted to go my own way,—mine and Ned's.

I don't think the airplane will replace the man, do you?

It may be days, weeks, or months before it is necessary for me to decide. How's about a long letter of advice from you—and also please ask Aunt Helvig and Grannie what they think.

I love you, M.

The American Experience: Rosie the Riveter

Part I:

1. What was work like for women during the Depression?
2. What was the appeal of factory jobs for women at the start of the war?
3. Throughout the video, watch the appearance of women in the factories. What types of clothes did they wear, how was their hair done, etc.?
4. How were women treated by men in the factories?
5. What role did race play in the factories? (come back to this as different stories unfold)
6. What was the tone of the woman being interviewed at the office of the Supervisor of Women's Employment? How did she speak about the women workers?
7. What dangers did women face in the factories?

8. How did working relationships change when women joined unions?

9. How was money used as enticement to work?

10. What problems did working-women with children face? How were these problems addressed?

Use this space to write your favorite lyrics from the music played throughout the video....

Name:

Date:

Rosie the Riveter - film

US 32

1. What message did propaganda films send to women & soldiers?
2. In what order were workers fired at the end of WWII?
3. What was the hope of the lady in the flowered dress for postwar America?
4. What was one of the women told when she went to get a job welding at ware island?
5. Flowered dress woman: "We were no longer comrades in arms." - What did she mean?
6. According to one of the propaganda films, what trend is the most destructive to marriage?
7. What did the film say would happen to children if there mothers kept working?
8. What does the "expert" say is the "cost" of women working?

9. Why did the woman in the polka-dot dress say "I had to get a job somehow"?

10. Why was getting a job in domestic work defeating for the African American woman?

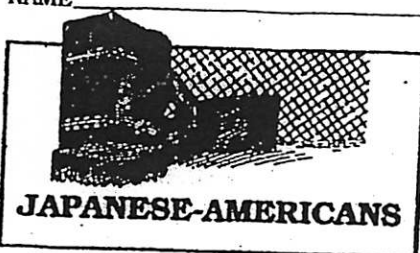
11. Why kind of jobs were "saved" for blacks?

12. Why the flowered dress woman say she liked welding better as a job?

13. How did articles in magazines change at the end of the war?

14. Why did the flowered dress woman say "we were largely a joke"?

15. What does she mean "we gave up everything for that"?



Overview Essay

The Internment of Japanese-Americans During World War II

"I only ask that I be given a chance to fight to preserve the principles that I have been brought up on and which I will not sacrifice at any cost. Please give me a chance to serve in your armed forces." So wrote Henry Ebihara to Secretary of War Henry Stimson as the United States entered World War II. Eight thousand Japanese-Americans did eventually serve—with distinction—in the United States armed forces during World War II, despite the fact that over 110,000 were forced by the American government to relocate to remote and dismal internment camps. The Japanese-Americans living on the West Coast were declared a "security threat" by the government, and many Americans supported the federal government's decision to isolate those who seemed to pose such a threat. Fear, racism, and a desire for revenge after the bombing of Pearl Harbor—all fostered public support for a government policy that violated the civil rights of other American citizens.

The census of 1940 recorded 126,947 people of Japanese ancestry living in the United States, nearly two-thirds of them native-born Americans. Those first-generation Japanese who had emigrated from Japan or Hawaii were known as Issei. Their children were known as Nisei. The majority of these Japanese-Americans lived together in small communities on the West Coast. Here they operated small businesses and vegetable farms, pursuing their dreams just as other Americans did. However, unlike Americans of European ancestry, during World War II Japanese-Americans were to endure unjust treatment at the hands of their government.

War Hysteria

The attack on Pearl Harbor pitched the government into a quandary. Because the West Coast was believed vulnerable to Japanese attack, military experts worried that Japanese-Americans there might cooperate with the enemy. The public, meanwhile, clamored for the government to take action against the "enemy race" in its midst.

Soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) identified

about 2,100 Japanese-Americans as "dangerous enemy aliens" and arrested them. This did little to calm the fears of residents on the West Coast. Many people considered a Japanese invasion imminent and believed that no one of Japanese heritage could be trusted. On February 19, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order No. 9066 authorizing the Secretary of War "to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded."

General John DeWitt, the military commander responsible for executing the order, designated entire regions of California as "military areas" and asked Japanese residents to relocate voluntarily. Complying with the request, about eight thousand Japanese-Americans abandoned their homes and moved to other parts of the country.

On March 18 Roosevelt created the War Relocation Authority (WRA) to oversee the orderly evacuation of Japanese-Americans from the designated regions. DeWitt ordered Japanese residents on the West Coast to report to Wartime Civilian Control Centers.

Korematsu v. United States (1944)

Vocabulary

executive order A regulation or order issued by the President to enforce a treaty or law; it does not require congressional approval but has the force of law.

curfew A regulation requiring a certain group to be off the streets and in their homes at a certain time.

Reviewing the Case

After the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the United States entered the war against the Axis powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan. The attack on Hawaii had made many American leaders and ordinary citizens increasingly fearful about security on the West Coast of the United States. In response to those fears, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued **Executive Order #9066** in February 1942.

The order authorized the creation of military areas in which military authorities had the power to remove or exclude whomever they wished. The first area included the entire West Coast to about 40 miles inland. Based on the executive order, military officials first imposed a **curfew** on “all persons of Japanese ancestry,” including those born in the United States and those who had become citizens. Later, the military commander ordered all persons of Japanese ancestry to leave their homes and report to assembly centers. From there they were sent to relocation camps farther inland, away from the coast.

The government claimed the curfew and the relocations were necessary to prevent sabotage, spying, or giving help to a possible Japanese invasion force. Disobeying the military orders was made a crime by act of Congress. Several lawsuits were brought to challenge this violation of the civil rights of citizens.

Fred (Toyosaburo) Korematsu was arrested for staying in San Leandro, California, instead of going to a relocation center. Born in California, Korematsu was a defense-plant

worker in his 20's. He had tried to join the Army but could not pass the physical. Rather than going to a center, he posed as Chinese. After being caught and arrested, he was convicted in federal district court of violating the military's “Civilian Exclusion Order.” Conviction carried a maximum fine of \$5,000 or up to one year in prison, or both.

Korematsu appealed the decision, unsuccessfully, to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals for California on the grounds that his rights under the Fourth, Fifth, Eighth, and Thirteenth Amendments had been violated. He was sent to a relocation camp in Utah. Korematsu then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The issue before the Court: Are Executive Order #9066 and the act of Congress enforcing it constitutional uses of the war powers of the President and Congress?

The Supreme Court ruled by a vote of 6–3 to uphold the decision of the lower courts against Korematsu. The Court ruled according to the precedent set a year earlier in *Hirabayashi v. United States*. Kiyoshi Hirabayashi had been convicted of violating the curfew law, which applied only to Japanese Americans. On appeal, the Court had ruled that Hirabayashi's rights had not been violated unconstitutionally because the curfew was within the limits of the war powers. In the interests of national security, the Court said, military authorities could do what they thought was necessary in sensitive areas; Congress had the right to give this power.

The Court's reasoning in both cases can be summed up in the words of Justice Hugo Black's opinion in *Korematsu*:

It should be noted, to begin with, that all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect. That is not to say that all such restrictions are unconstitutional. It is to say that courts must subject them to the most rigid scrutiny. . . . Compulsory exclusion of large groups of citizens from their

VOLUME II

The Way We Lived

Essays and Documents
in American Social History

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The first two documents illustrate the mood and attitudes prevalent at the time of the internment. The first is taken from the testimony presented by Earl Warren before a congressional committee meeting in San Francisco in 1942. Today Warren is best remembered as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1953 to 1969, and as a staunch defender of civil rights. In 1942, however, he was California's attorney general and a future candidate for governor. In response to questioning regarding the civil rights of Japanese-Americans, he replied, "I believe, sir, that in time of war every citizen must give up some of his normal rights." Even if one accepts such a belief, would it excuse the treatment of Japanese-Americans during the war?

The second document is from Justice Hugo Black's majority opinion in the case of *Korematsu v. United States* (1944). After reading the accounts of removal and relocation in the essay, evaluate Justice Black's statement that it is "unjustifiable to call [the relocation centers] . . . concentration camps" and his assertion that "to cast this case into outlines of racial prejudice, without reference to the real military dangers which were present, merely confuses the issue."

Since the end of the war, racial attitudes toward Japanese-Americans, as well as other minorities, have considerably improved in the United States. In the case of Japanese-Americans, their outstanding military service during the war no doubt aided their acceptance by other Americans. The 442d Regimental Combat Team, composed almost entirely of Japanese-Americans, suffered enormous casualties in Italy and was the most decorated unit in the war.

The final document, a proclamation by President Gerald Ford in 1976, expresses the nation's regret over the wartime miscarriage of justice. Proposals to compensate financially those Japanese-Americans who were interned have yet to be approved by Congress, however. Have racial attitudes evolved enough so that Americans will abide by President Ford's resolve "that this kind of error shall never be made again"?

timed and just like the invasion of France, and of Denmark, and of Norway, and all of those other countries. . . .

I want to say that the consensus of opinion among the law-enforcement officers of this State is that there is more potential danger among the group of Japanese who are born in this country than from the alien Japanese who were born in Japan. That might seem an anomaly to some people, but the fact is that, in the first place, there are twice as many of them. There are 33,000 aliens and there are 66,000 born in this country.

In the second place, most of the Japanese who were born in Japan are over 55 years of age. There has been practically no migration to this country since 1924. But in some instances the children of those people have been sent to Japan for their education, either in whole or in part, and while they are over there they are indoctrinated with the idea of Japanese imperialism. They receive their religious instruction which ties up their religion with their Emperor, and they come back here imbued with the ideas and the policies of Imperial Japan. . . .

We believe that when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them, and we believe that we can, in dealing with the Germans and the Italians, arrive at some fairly sound conclusions because of our knowledge of the way they live in the community and have lived for many years. But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field and we cannot form any opinion that we believe to be sound. . . .

MR. [JOHN] SPARKMAN. I have noticed suggestions in newspaper stories. I noticed a telegram this morning with reference to the civil rights of these people. What do you have to say about that?

ATTORNEY GENERAL WARREN. I believe, sir, that in time of war every citizen must give up some of his normal rights.

Exclusion and Internment Upheld, 1944

The petitioner, an American citizen of Japanese descent, was convicted in a federal district court for remaining in San Leandro, California, a "Military Area," contrary to Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34 of the Commanding General of the Western Command, U.S. Army, which directed that after May 9, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry should be excluded from that area. No question was raised as to petitioner's loyalty to the United States. . . .

Like curfew, exclusion of those of Japanese origin was deemed necessary because of the presence of an unascertained number of disloyal

SOURCE: Justice Hugo Black's majority opinion in *Korematsu v. United States*, 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

An American Promise, 1976

By the President of the United States of America: A Proclamation

February 19 is the anniversary of a very, very sad day in American history. It was on that date in 1942 that Executive Order 9066 was issued resulting in the uprooting of many, many loyal Americans. Over 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were removed from their homes, detained in special camps, and eventually relocated.

We now know what we should have known then—not only was that evacuation wrong but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans. On the battlefield and at home the names of Japanese-Americans have been and continue to be written in America's history for the sacrifices and the contributions they have made to the well-being and to the security of this, our common Nation.

Executive Order 9066 ceased to be effective at the end of World War II. Because there was no formal statement of its termination, there remains some concern among Japanese-Americans that there yet may be some life in that obsolete document. The proclamation [4417] that I am signing here today should remove all doubt on that matter.

I call upon the American people to affirm with me the unhyphenated American promise that we have learned from the tragedy of that long ago experience—forever to treasure liberty and justice for each individual American and resolve that this kind of error shall never be made again.

SOURCE: From *Public Papers of the Presidents*, Gerald R. Ford, 1976–1977 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February 19, 1976), 110.

Discussion Questions for: "The Way We Lived"

1. During times of war, what obligations does the federal government have to ensure social and economic equality at home?
2. What is the difference between German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Japanese-Americans?
3. Do you think there is a way to compensate the Japanese who were interned during WWII? If so, what would just compensation look like to you? If not, explain.

What Do You Think?

1. Was the Cunard Steamship Company to blame because it armed the ship and allowed war materials as part of the cargo?
2. Did Captain Schwieger of the *U-20* bear the responsibility because he failed to warn the ship that it was to be sunk and did not provide for the safety of the passengers?
3. Was the United States government to blame because it allowed Americans to travel on a British passenger ship during wartime even if the United States was neutral at the time?
4. Was the German government to blame because it ordered the sinking of an unarmed passenger liner bearing innocent civilians who were simply exercising their right to sail freely on the high seas during wartime?
5. What of Captain Turner of the *Lusitania*, was he to blame because he failed to take the precautions of requesting a convoy of destroyers, failed to follow a zig-zag course, and traveled at a slow speed to conserve fuel?
6. Were the American passengers to blame for their own fate because they failed to heed the warning notice published in the newspapers?

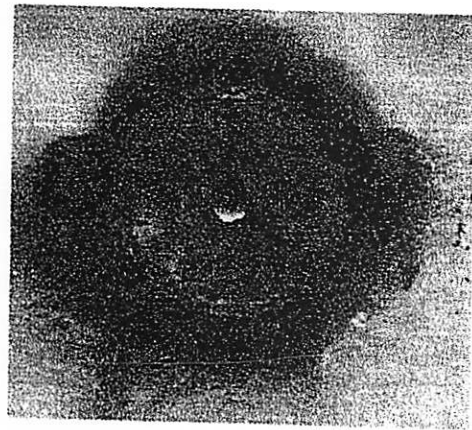
CASE 11

The Decision to Drop the Atomic Bomb

Background

It is August 6, 1945. The place is Tinian, an island speck in the South Pacific. At 2:45 A.M. the evening quiet is abruptly interrupted by the roar of a B-29 bomber as it rumbles down the runway and disappears into the night. Special bombing mission #13 is underway. A single B-29, nicknamed the *Enola Gay*, embarks upon a mission which will change the course of history. The *Enola Gay* will drop the first atomic bomb in history.

At 8:09 A.M. the target city, Hiroshima, comes into view. Commander Tibbets is speaking to his crew on the plane's intercom. "We are about to start the bomb run. Put on your goggles and place them up on your forehead. When you hear the tone signal, pull the goggles over your eyes and leave them there until after the flash."



At 8:15 A.M. plus 17 seconds the bomb bay of the *Enola Gay* springs open. The plane is suddenly 10,000 pounds lighter and lurches upward with a sudden jolt. The bomb is away and the countdown of the seconds begins—38... 39... 40... 41... 42... 43...—then, a blinding flash. Below, where the city of Hiroshima had been, is a ball of fire, 1800 feet across with a temperature at its center of 100 million degrees.

It was a Monday morning in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Families were eating breakfast, children were preparing for school, and work at the factories was about to begin. The distant throb of an airplane engine caused little concern in the city. Japanese children had become accustomed to daily flights by weather and observation planes.

At exactly 8:16 A.M., what had been a peaceful Monday morning was suddenly transformed into a nightmare of death and destruction. Over 100,000 Japanese people died as a result of the atomic attack. This cold statement of fact conveys little real meaning until it is put into the words of school children who survived the atomic attack.

SANAE KANO (5th grade girl) 4-years old in 1945:¹

Just as we saw a bright flash there was a loud bang and I almost fainted. It was such a loud noise that it was really frightening. That time my father didn't go out to the raid. When the bomb fell, cushions and things came falling from the second floor. I caught them and tried to get outside but I couldn't get out. When Father went out some broken glass fell and stuck in his back; Father picked this glass out by himself and helped us get out of the house. Grandmother in the end collided with a post and died. She was really a kind good Grandma. Mother, while she was trying to rescue a child who lived next door, touched poison and died rather a long time later. When we tried to cross the trolley tracks they were so hot that I jumped back. When we came to the river there was a man who was really suffering; he was black all over and he kept saying, "Give me water, give me water!" I felt so sorry for him I could hardly bear it. People were in the river drinking the river water. An air raid warden was saying, "You mustn't drink the water." He was saying it but people didn't pay any attention to him and lots of people kept going into the water and dying. . . .

HIROAKI ICHIKAWA (5th grade boy) 5-years old in 1945:

That day after we escaped and came to Hijiyama Bridge, there were lots of naked people who were so badly burned that the skin of their body was hanging from them like rags. And people who were all covered with blood were being put on a truck and taken away.

¹ Excerpts on pages 151-154 are reprinted by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons from *Children of the A-Bomb* edited by Dr. Arata Osada, pp. 13-14. Copyright © 1959 by Dr. Arata Osada.

Inside the government building lots of badly burned people were screaming with pain. Father and Mother have often said, "That was like being in hell. . . ."

IKUKO WAKASA (5th grade girl) 5-years old in 1945:

A man who was so badly burned that you couldn't tell whether he was a young man or an old man, was lying in front of Grandpa's house which is right next to ours. Poor thing, we laid him on the floor in our hall. Then we put a blanket down for him and gave him a pillow; while we were looking at him he swelled up to about three times his size and his whole body turned the color of dirt and got soft. Flies came all over him and he was moaning in a faint voice and an awful smell was coming from him. . . .

A half-year ago a ten-year old girl suddenly developed radiation sickness. All her hair fell out and she became entirely bald and the doctor at the Japan Red Cross Hospital frantically did everything he could for her but she vomited blood and died after twenty days. I shudder when I think that even though it is already six years after the end of the war, still people are dying in a way that reminds us of that day. . . .

KIYOKO TSUMIGA (5th grade girl) 5-years old in 1945:

Atom bombs are really horrible things aren't they? I hate them. But again North America and North Korea have started a war, haven't they. I wish the war would end quickly. I wonder why such things happen. But I think Japan ought never to wage war.

There are lots of homeless children and shoeshine boys in Japan, aren't there. I suppose those people have no fathers and mothers. That was really an evil atom bomb wasn't it? Every single day I am praying that no matter what happens there will be peace. . . .

KEIKO SASAKI (6th grade girl) 6-years old in 1945:

At that time I was living in the country with my grandmother. She heard from some people who escaped that Hiroshima was all burned to the ground. So she set right out for Hiroshima.

About a week later when she returned, I asked, "What about Mother?" And Grandmother answered, "I brought her on my back." When she said that I was terribly happy and I shouted, "Mamma!"

But I saw that Grandmother only had a rucksack on her back, so I was suddenly disappointed. My heart sank. My grandmother and the country people burst out crying. I thought, why are they crying? I didn't realize. Grandmother took the little box out of the rucksack and showed it to them all. What she showed them was only Mother's gold tooth and the bone of her elbow. Even then I didn't understand. After three years passed, I was in the second grade, then for the first time I finally understood that Mamma had died. . . .

HISATO ITOH (11th grade boy) 10-years old in 1945:

. . . Everything in sight which can be called a building is crushed to the ground and sending out flames. People who are burned so badly that the skin

of their bodies is peeling off in red strips are raising shrieking cries that sound as though the victims would die the next minute. The street is so covered with dead people and burned people stretched out and groaning, and the fallen houses and things, that we can't get through.

No matter how much I might exaggerate the stories of the burned people who died shrieking and of how the city of Hiroshima was burned to the ground, the facts would still be clearly more terrible and I could never really express the truth on this piece of paper; on this point I ask for pardon. . . .

As six school children reacted to the horror of that Monday morning so, too, did the crew of the bombing mission.

High above the ruined city the crew of the *Enola Gay* expressed its awe and shock. Some of the men were temporarily blinded by the flash of the blast. Crewman Caron could only say, "Holy Moses, what a mess." "My God," said another crewman, "What have we done?" "The war's over!" shouted one man. Yet another crewman could only say, "Good God, could anyone live through that down there?"

As the *Enola Gay* began the long return flight to its base on Tinian, one of the crew members paused to write a letter to his son. This is what he wrote:

August 6, 1945

10 miles off the Japan coast at 28,000 feet

Dear Walter,

This is the first grown-up letter I have ever written to you, and it is really for you to read when you are older. . . . Today the lead plane of our little formation dropped a single bomb which probably exploded with the force of 15,000 tons of high explosive. That means that the days of large bombing raids, with several hundred planes, are finished. A single plane disguised as a friendly transport can now wipe out a city. That means to me that nations will have to get along together in a friendly fashion, or suffer the consequences of sudden sneak attacks which can cripple them overnight.

What regrets I have about being a party to killing and maiming thousands of Japanese civilians this morning are tempered with the hope that this terrible weapon we have created may bring the countries of the world together and prevent further wars. Alfred Nobel thought that his invention of high explosives would have this effect by making wars too terrible, but unfortunately it had just the opposite reaction. Our new destructive force is so many thousands times worse that it may realize Nobel's dream. . . .²

THE MAN WHO MADE THE DECISION

Imagine for a moment that you are the Vice President of the United States. It is shortly before 5:00 P.M., and the

Senate has just adjourned for the day. You have stopped to chat with the Speaker of the House, but your visit with him is interrupted by a telephone call from the President's Press Secretary. With a shaky voice, he asks that you come to the White House immediately. You sense that something is wrong as you enter the White House. Your suspicions are all too quickly confirmed when the President's wife places her hand upon your shoulder and says, "The President is dead."

This event actually happened that quickly on April 12, 1945. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had led the American people through 12 difficult years of depression and war, had died. Suddenly, and without warning, the President's heavy burden of power and responsibility had shifted to the shoulders of Vice President Harry S Truman. As the news and the shock of the President's death spread across the nation, people turned to each other and echoed the same question, "Who is Harry Truman?"

The man who now was President could look back upon his boyhood on a farm in Jackson County, Missouri. He completed high school and served as an artillery officer in World War I. After the war, he went into the men's clothing business and failed. In 1922 he began a political career in Kansas City which eventually led to his election as a United States Senator in 1934 and 1940. His work as chairman of a committee investigating war production won him recognition and the vice presidential nomination in 1944. As Vice President, Truman was little known and overshadowed by the towering figure of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Now Roosevelt lay dead, and Truman was the President. Soon he would be faced with, perhaps, the most

difficult decision that any President (or any man) has had to make. Truman expressed his feelings best to newspaper reporters the day after Roosevelt's death, when he said, "Boys, if you ever pray, pray for me now. . . . When they told me yesterday what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars and all the planets had fallen on me."

The most carefully guarded secret of World War II was unknown to Harry S Truman when he became President. Roosevelt had never told Truman that a team of British and American scientists were developing a device of tremendous destructive potential—the atomic bomb. Within a matter of weeks, Truman would be faced with the lonely responsibility of deciding if, when, and where the atomic bomb would be dropped.

History books tell us that Harry Truman made the decision to drop the atomic bomb, but they do not tell us whether his decision was right or wrong. Was the dropping of an atomic bomb upon the city of Hiroshima justified? Did President Truman make the right decision? As you read the arguments for and against the dropping of the bomb, try to decide what *you* would have done.

HARRY S TRUMAN, President of the United States:

The final decision of where and when to use the atomic bomb was up to me. Let there be no mistake about it. I regarded the bomb as a military weapon and never had any doubt that it should be used. The top military advisers to the President recommended its use, and when I talked to Churchill he unhesitatingly told me that he favored the use of the atomic bomb if it might aid to end the war. . . .³

FLETCHER KNEBEL and CHARLES W. BAILEY, Journalists:

Nowhere in the Manhattan paper is there any indication that President Truman ever made an affirmative decision to drop the bomb. Rather, he seems to have proceeded on the assumption that the bomb would be dropped when ready. The papers tend to confirm a recent statement by Groves that Truman "was like a little boy on a toboggan" who never had an opportunity to say yes. All he could have said, Groves argued, was no. That word the President never uttered. . . .⁴

HENRY L. STIMSON, Secretary of War:

My chief purpose was to end the war in victory with the least possible cost in the lives of the men in the armies which I had helped to raise. In the light of the alternatives which, on a fair estimate, were open to us I believe that no man, in our position and subject to our responsibilities, holding in his hands a weapon of such possibilities for accomplishing this purpose and saving those lives, could have failed to use it and afterwards looked his countrymen in the face. . . .⁵

ADMIRAL WILLIAM D. LEAHY, Advisor to President Truman:

It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing with conventional weapons. . . .

... "Bomb" is the wrong word to use for this new weapon. It is not a bomb. It is not an explosive. It is a poisonous thing that kills people by its deadly radioactive reaction, more than by the explosive force it develops. My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. . . .⁶

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe:

General Eisenhower expressed the hope that we would never have to use such a weapon against an enemy because he disliked seeing the United States "initiate the use" of anything so horrible and destructive. . . .⁷

WINSTON CHURCHILL, Prime Minister of Great Britain:

There never was a moments discussion (at Potsdam) as to whether the atomic bomb should be used or not. The historic fact remains, and must be judged in the after time, that the decision to use the atomic bomb to compel the surrender of Japan was never an issue. . . . There was unanimous, automatic, unquestioned agreement around our table; nor did I ever hear the slightest suggestion that we should do otherwise. . . .⁸

LESLIE R. GROVES, General in charge of the Manhattan Project:

... In my opinion, his (Truman's) resolve to continue with the original plan will always stand as an

⁶ *I Was There* by Admiral Leahy, © 1950, by William D. Leahy. © 1950, by the Curtis Publishing Co. Published by McGraw-Hill Co. Reprinted by permission of Brandt & Brandt.

act of unsurpassed courage and wisdom—courage because, for the first time in the history of the United States, the President personally determined the course of a major military strategic and tactical operation for which he could be considered directly responsible; and wisdom because history, if any thought is given to the value of American lives, has conclusively proven that his decision was correct. . . .⁹

GENERAL CARL SPAATZ, Commander of the Strategic Air Forces:

The dropping of the bomb was done by military men under military orders. We're supposed to carry out orders and not question them. . . .¹⁰

GENERAL CURTIS LEMAY, Commander of the 20th Air Force:
I think President Truman made the proper decision because I firmly believe that it saved lives in the long run by doing it and shortened the war and that was what we were after at the time. . . .¹¹

* Considering the Case

1. What did General Groves (quoted by Knebel and Bailey) mean when he said that Truman "was like a little boy on a toboggan" who never had an opportunity to say yes?
2. What reasons did Secretary of War Stimson give for dropping the bomb?
3. Why did Admiral Leahy think it was a mistake to drop the bomb?

* 4. Do you agree with General Spaatz that a military man should carry out orders without questioning them? Why or why not?

5. Why did General LeMay think that Truman made the correct decision?

WAS JAPAN FAIRLY WARNED AND GIVEN A CHANCE TO SURRENDER?

Critics of President Truman contend that he failed to warn the Japanese that they would be attacked with an atomic bomb and thus gave them no opportunity to surrender until the bomb was dropped. The critics also contend that the bomb could have been dropped in an unpopulated area to demonstrate its power. Such a demonstration they argue, would have convinced the Japanese to surrender without needless bloodshed and long-term suffering.

On July 26, 1945, the governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, and Great Britain issued a joint statement known as the Potsdam Declaration. This document included a call for Japan to surrender and warned Japan of what would happen if it did not surrender.

From the Potsdam Declaration . . . July 26, 1945:

. . . We call upon the Government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction. . . .¹²

* HENRY L. STIMSON, the United States Secretary of War:

On July 28 the Premier of Japan, Suzuki, rejected the Potsdam ultimatum by announcing that it was 'unworthy of public notice.' In the face of this rejection we could only proceed to demonstrate that the ultimatum had meant exactly what it said. . . .¹³

HANSON W. BALDWIN, journalist and author:

Not only was the Potsdam ultimatum merely a restatement of the politically impossible—unconditional surrender—but it could hardly be construed as a direct warning of the atomic bomb and was not taken as such by anyone who did not know the bomb had been created. . . . American ingenuity could have found ways to bring home to the Japanese the impossibility of their position and the horrors of the weapon being held over them; yet we rushed to use the bomb as soon as the unconditional surrender was rejected.

Had we devised some demonstration or given a more specific warning than the Potsdam ultimatum, and had the Japanese still persisted in continued resistance after some weeks of our psychological offensive, we should perhaps have been justified in the bomb's use; at least, our hands would have been more clean. . . .¹⁴

Critics of Truman's decision further argue that a harm-
less demonstration of the power of the atomic bomb would
have convinced the Japanese to surrender without blood-
shed.

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HENRY L. STIMSON, Secretary of War:

The Interim Committee, on June 1, recommended that the bomb should be used against Japan, without specific warning, as soon as possible, and against such a target as to make clear its devastating strength. Any other course, in the opinion of the committee, involved serious danger to the major objective of obtaining a prompt surrender from the Japanese. An advisory panel of distinguished atomic physicists reported that "we can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use. . . ."¹⁵

JAMES F. BYRNES, Special Advisor to President Truman:

We feared that, if the Japanese were told that the bomb would be used on a given locality, they might bring our boys who were prisoners of war to that area. Also, the experts had warned us that the static test which was to take place in New Mexico, even if successful, would not be conclusive proof that a bomb would explode when dropped from an airplane. If we were to warn the Japanese of the new highly destructive weapon in the hope of impressing them and if the bomb then failed to explode we would have given aid and comfort to the Japanese militarists. . . .¹⁶

RALPH A. BARD, Undersecretary of the Navy:

(Before the bomb was dropped)

Ever since I have been in touch with this program I have had a feeling that before the bomb is actually

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used against Japan that Japan should have some preliminary warning for say two or three days in advance of use. The position of the United States as a great humanitarian nation and the fair play attitude of our people generally is responsible for this feeling. . . .

(After the bomb was dropped)

. . . It was quite logical to hope and expect that with the proper kind of warning the Japanese would have made peace and we wouldn't have had to drop the bomb and have to bring Russia in and we wouldn't have had to give them all the tremendous things we gave them for five days' participation in the war. . . .

ARTHUR H. COMPTON, scientist and advisor to Truman:

. . . We (the scientists) were determined to find, if we could, some effective way of demonstrating the power of an atomic bomb without loss of life that would impress Japan's warlords. If only this could be done!

Though the possibility of a demonstration that would not destroy human lives was attractive, no one could suggest a way in which it could be made so convincing that it would likely stop the war. . . .

- ★ 1. In your opinion, was the Potsdam Declaration a fair warning to Japan? Why or why not?
2. If you had been President Truman, would you have given the Japanese warning of an atomic attack? If so, how? If not, why not?

WAS JAPAN ALREADY DEFEATED WHEN THE ATOMIC BOMB WAS DROPPED?

Many critics of President Truman contend that there was no need to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima because Japan was already defeated in August of 1945. They argue that there would have been no need to invade the Japanese mainland and that the bomb did not significantly shorten the war and did not save enough lives to justify its use.

ADMIRAL WILLIAM D. LEAHY:

. . . The Japanese were already defeated and were ready to surrender because of the effective sea blockade and the successful bombing of conventional weapons. . . .

Report of The United States Strategic Bombing Survey (1945):

Based on a detailed investigation of all the facts and supported by the testimony of the surviving Japanese leaders involved, it is the Survey's opinion that certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to November 1, 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated. . . .

GENERAL H. H. ARNOLD, Chief of the United States Air Corps:

. . . It always appeared to us that, atomic bomb or

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no atomic bomb, the Japanese were already on the verge of collapse Nevertheless the abrupt surrender of Japan came more or less as a surprise, for we had figured we would probably have to drop about four atomic bombs. . . .²¹

CLEMENT ATTLEE, Prime Minister of Great Britain:

In the light of what we knew at the time, which was that the military were in command in Japan and that the Japanese would fight to the last man. . . . In the light of that I figure the decision was right. . . .²²

COLONEL SABURO HAYASHI, Secretary to the Japanese War Minister:

We were prepared to stage the decisive battle on the Japanese mainland right before the end of the war. We thought we would be able to beat the Americans on their first landing attempt. But if the Americans launched a second or third attack our food supply would run out. We didn't have sufficient weapons nor could we have made more. . . .²³

KARL COMPTON, atomic scientist and advisor to the President:

. . . . There was every reason to think that the Japanese would defend their homeland with even greater fanaticism than when they fought to the death on Iwo Jima and Okinawa. No American soldier who survived the bloody struggle on those islands has much sympathy with the view that battle with the Japanese was over as soon as it was clear that their

ultimate situation was hopeless. No, there was every reason to expect a terrible struggle long after the point at which some people can now look back and say, "Japan was already beaten."²⁴

In your opinion, was Japan already defeated when the atomic bomb was dropped? Give the reasons for your answer.

WAS THE ATOMIC BOMB ACTUALLY DROPPED TO IMPRESS THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN JAPAN?

Following the surrender of Germany, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union deteriorated rapidly. Some American leaders felt that the Soviet Union was a greater military threat to the United States than Japan ever had been or ever would be. Some critics of President Truman contend that he decided to drop the atomic bomb because it would demonstrate the military power of the United States to the leaders of the Soviet Union. The critics further argue that Truman wanted Japan to surrender before Russia entered the war in the Pacific so there would be no need for a joint Russo-American occupation of Japan of the kind that was creating so many problems in Germany.

PATRICK BLACKETT, British scientist and writer:

. . . . we may conclude that the dropping of the atomic bombs was not so much the last military act of the second world war, as the first major operation of the

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cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress. . . .
One can imagine the hurry with which the two bombs—the only two existing—were whisked across the Pacific to be dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki just in time, but only just, to insure that the Japanese Government surrendered to American forces alone. . . .²⁵

LEN GIOVANNITTI AND FRED FREED, NBC reporters and authors:

It can be argued persuasively that the Soviet Union was, in the final days before Hiroshima, much on the minds of Truman, Byrnes and Stimson. This does not, however, mean that their sole or even primary reason for using the bomb was as a political weapon against the Russians. The political consideration was an additional reason. . . .²⁶

JAMES F. BYRNES, special advisor to President Truman:

. . . . It was ever present in my mind that it was important that we should have an end to the war before the Russians came in. . . .

Personally, I was praying that the Japanese would see the wisdom of surrendering and we could bring the war to an end before the Russians got in. . . .²⁷

LEO SZILARD, Professor of Physics and a leading spokesman in opposition to dropping the bomb:

Mr. Byrnes's concern about Russia I fully shared, but his view that our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe I was not able to share. Indeed I could

hardly imagine any premise more false or disastrous upon which to base our policy, and I was dismayed when a few weeks later I learned that he was to be our Secretary of State. . . .²⁸

What Do You Think?

1. Was the bombing of Hiroshima necessary and justifiable?
2. What were the alternatives to dropping the atomic bomb?
3. If *you* had been President Truman, what decision would you have made?

Document A: General De Witt *Final Report*

“In the war in which we are now engaged racial affinities are not severed by migration. The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship, have become “Americanized”, the racial strains are undiluted. To conclude otherwise is to expect that children born of white parents on Japanese soil sever all racial affinity and become loyal Japanese subjects, ready to fight and, if necessary, to die for Japan in a war against the nation of their parents. That Japan is allied with Germany and Italy in this struggle is no ground for assuming that any Japanese, barred from assimilation by convention as he is, though born and raised in the United States, will not turn against this nation when the final test of loyalty comes. It, therefore, follows that along the vital Pacific Coast over 112,000 potential enemies, of Japanese extraction, are at large today. There are indications that these are organized and ready for concerted action at a favorable opportunity. The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.”

--Lieutenant General John L. De Witt (1942)
Commander of the Western Defense Command

Document B: Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians *Personal Justice Denied*

“This policy of exclusion, removal and detention was executed against 120,000 people without individual review, and exclusion was continued virtually without regard for their demonstrated loyalty to the United States. Congress was fully aware of and supported the policy of removal and detention; it sanctioned the exclusion by enacting a statute which made criminal the violation of orders issued pursuant to Executive Order 9066. The United States Supreme Court held the exclusion constitutionally permissible in the context of war...

All this was done despite the fact that not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast.

No mass exclusion or detention, in any part of the country, was ordered against American citizens of German or Italian descent. Official actions against enemy aliens of other nationalities were much more individualized and selective than those imposed on the ethnic Japanese.

The exclusion, removal and detention inflicted tremendous human cost. There was the obvious cost of homes and business sold or abandoned under circumstances of great distress, as well as injury to careers and professional advancement. But, most important, there was the loss of liberty and the personal stigma of suspected disloyalty for thousands of people who knew themselves to be devoted to their country's cause and to its ideals but whose repeated protestations of loyalty were discounted...The wounds of the exclusion and detention have healed in some respects, but the scars of that experience remain, painfully real in the minds of those who lived through the suffering and deprivation of the camps.”

--Personal Justice Denied (1982)

Report on the Commission on Wartime Relocation
and Internment of Civilians

Document C: President Ronald Reagan Redress Remarks

Remarks on Signing the Bill Providing Restitution for the Wartime Internment of Japanese-American Civilians (Ronald Reagan)

August 10, 1988

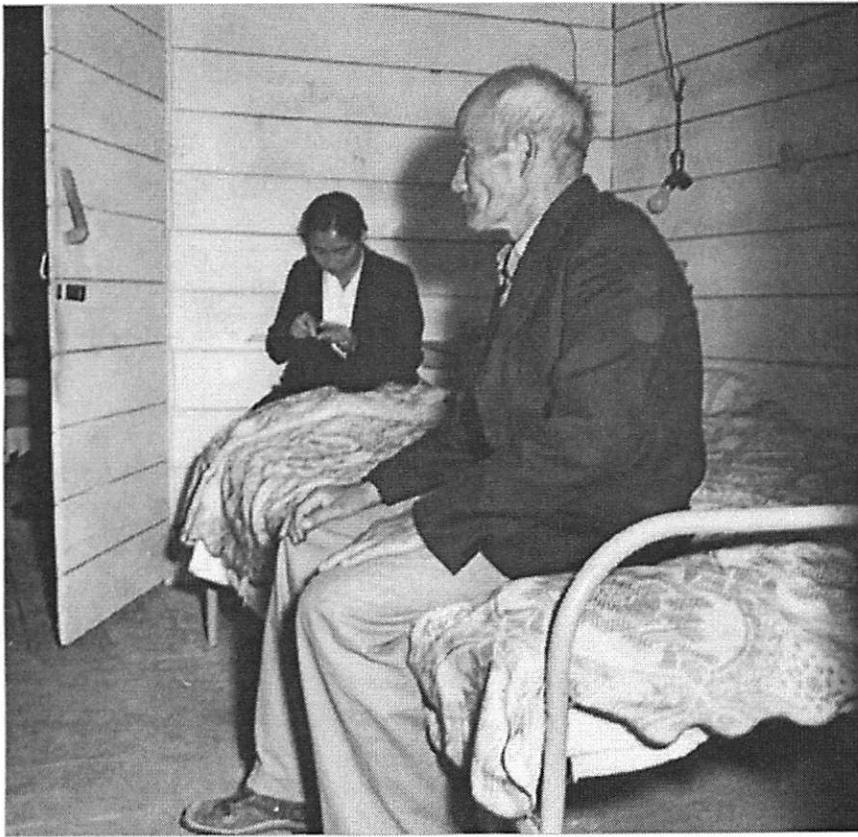
The Members of Congress and distinguished guests, my fellow Americans, we gather here today to right a grave wrong. More than 40 years ago, shortly after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in makeshift internment camps. This action was taken without trial, without jury. It was based solely on race, for these 120,000 were Americans of Japanese descent.

Yes, the Nation was then at war, struggling for its survival and it's not for us today to pass judgment upon those who may have made mistakes while engaged in that great struggle. Yet we must recognize that the internment of Japanese-Americans was just that: a mistake. For throughout the war, Japanese-Americans in the tens of thousands remained utterly loyal to the United States. Indeed, scores of Japanese-Americans volunteered for our Armed Forces, many stepping forward in the internment camps themselves. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, made up entirely of Japanese-Americans, served with immense distinction to defend this nation, their nation. Yet back at home, the soldier's families were being denied the very freedom for which so many of the soldiers themselves were laying down their lives. . .

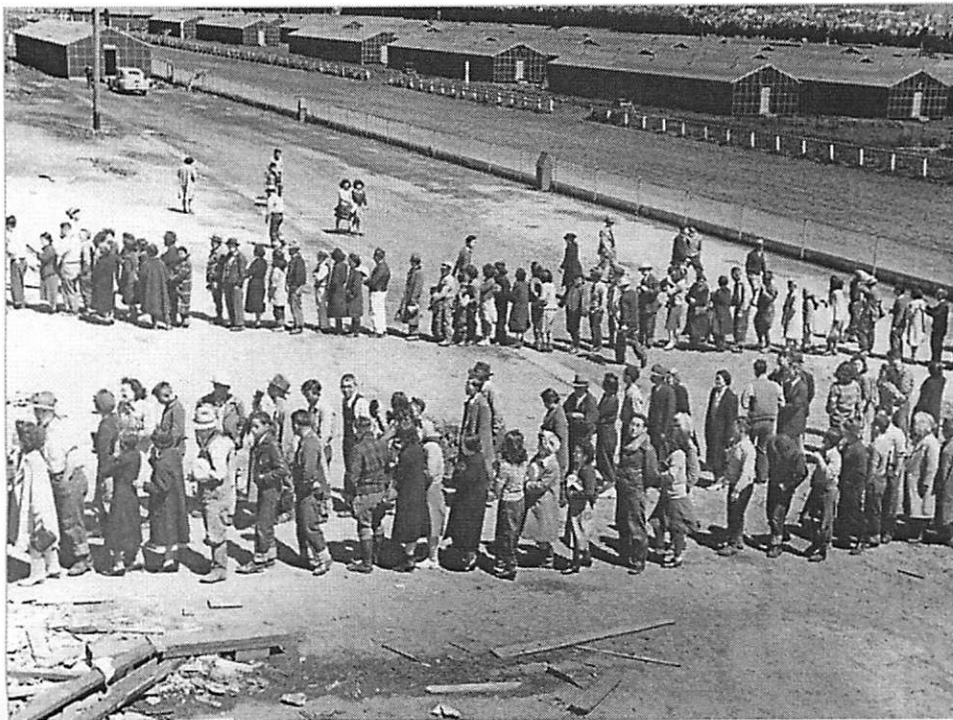
The legislation that I am about to sign provides for a restitution payment to each of the 60,000 surviving Japanese-Americans of the 120,000 who were relocated or detained. Yet no payment can make up for those lost years. So, what is most important in this bill has less to do with property than with honor. For here we admit a wrong; here we reaffirm our commitment as a nation to equal justice under the law. . .

Thank you, and God bless you. And now let me sign H.R. 442, so fittingly named in honor of the 442d. Thank you all again, and God bless you all. I think this is a fine day.

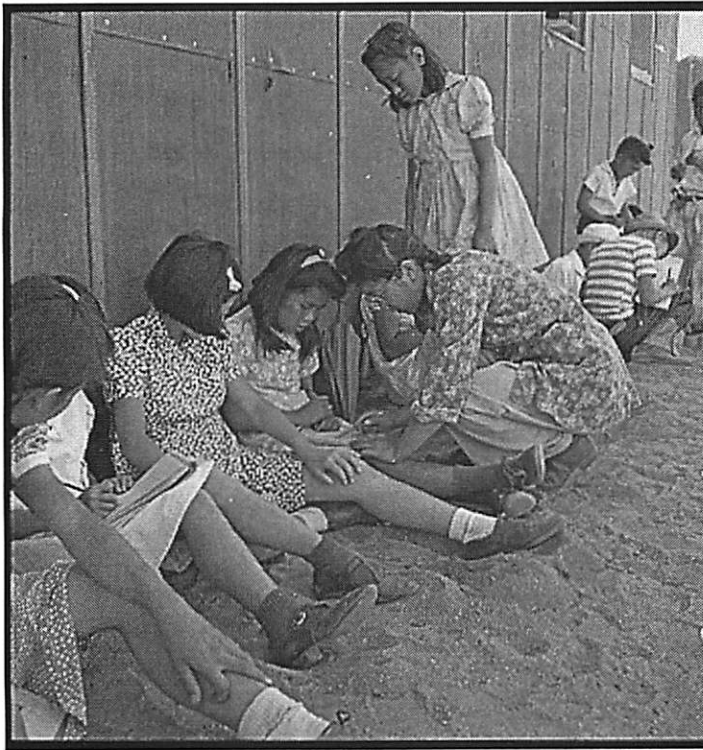
Note: The President spoke at 2:33 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. H.R. 442, approved August 10, was assigned Public Law No. 100-383.



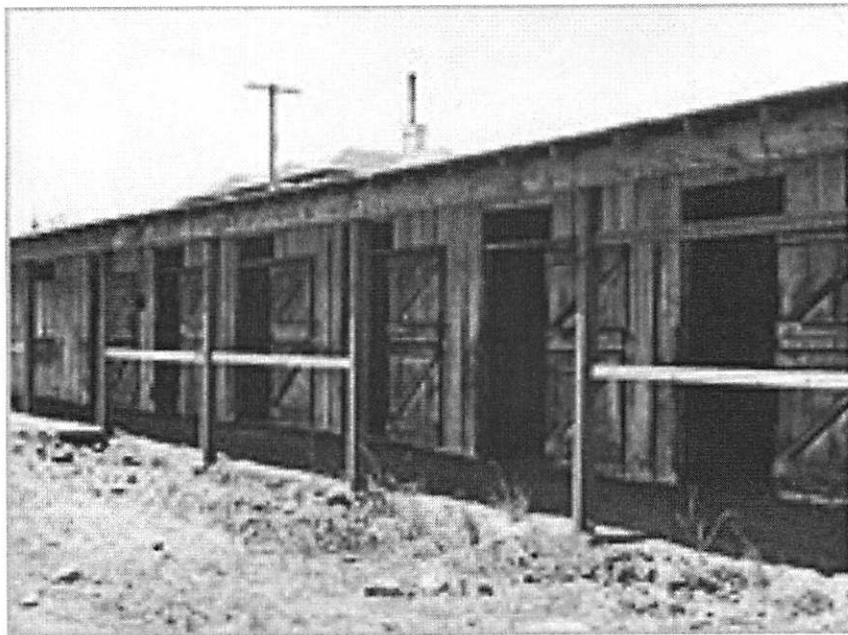
Inside a barracks apartment at Tanforan.



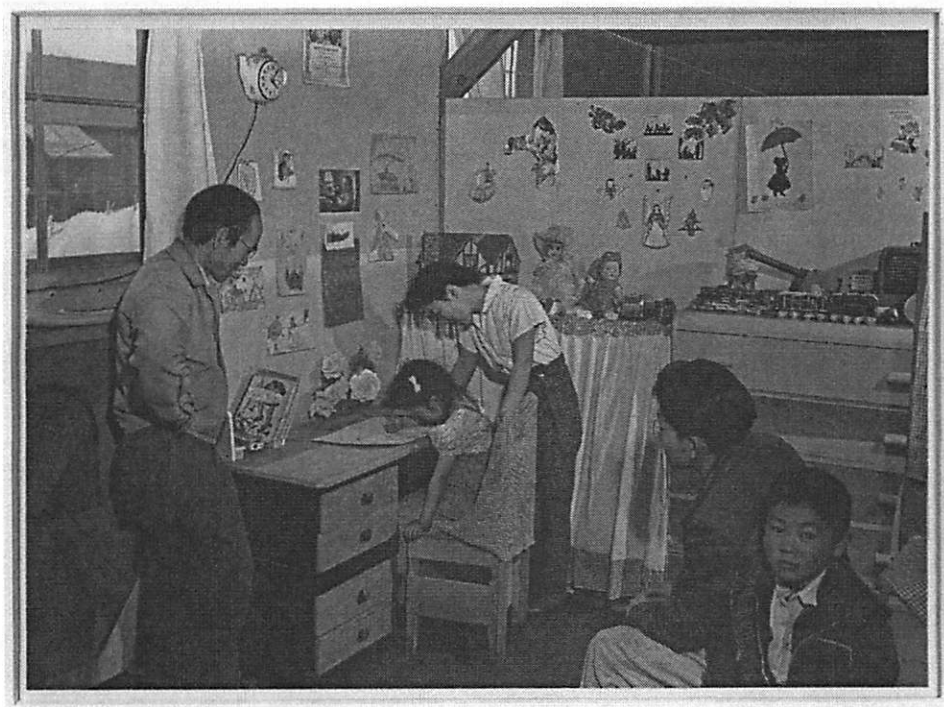
Arriving at Tanforan Assembly Center, a former racetrack in San Bruno, Calif.



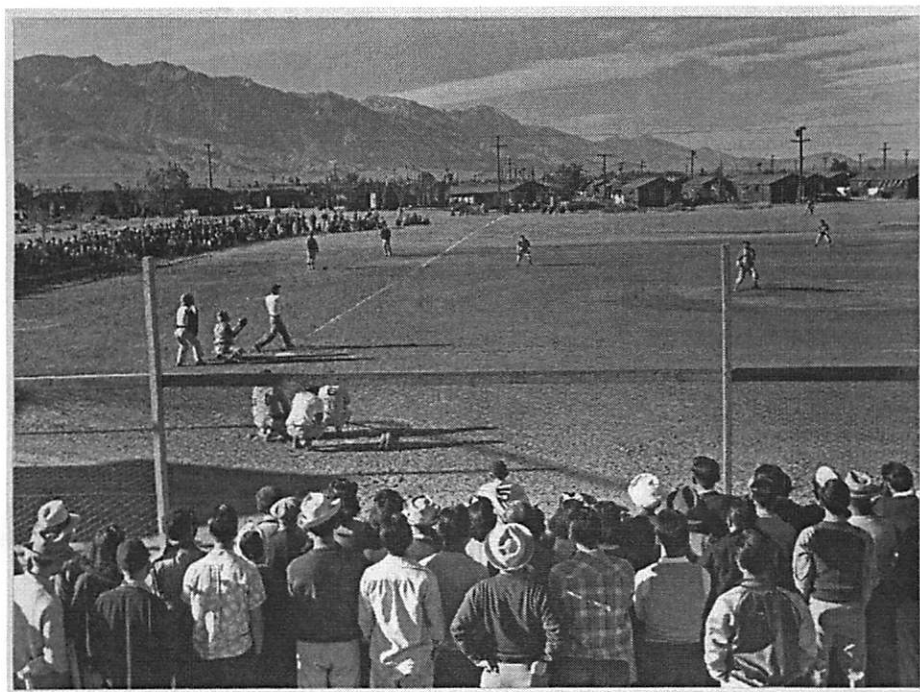
Classes are often held in the shade of the barrack building at this War Relocation Authority center.



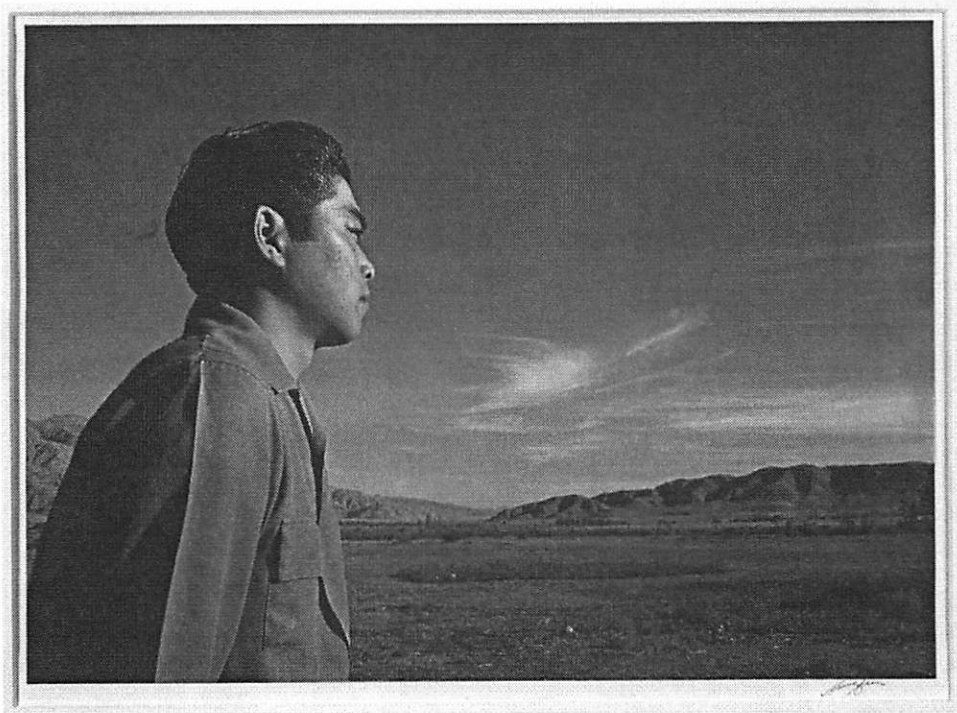
Horse stalls at Tanforan that were transformed into living quarters for internees.



Toyo Miyatake Family, Manzanar Relocation Center.



Baseball game, Manzanar Relocation Center, Calif.



Tom Kobayashi, landscape, south fields, Manzanar Relocation Center.



Richard Kobayashi, farmer with cabbages.